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AUTHOR Silver, Paula F.
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ABSTRACT

That the quest for a general theory of educational administration has been a misdirection of effort and that the advancement of professionalism within this field would represent a more sensible endeavor for the production of useful knowledge is the focus of this essay. The advancement of professionalism would entail a reorientation of research toward the outcomes of schooling, would necessitate close interaction between researchers and practitioners in the day-to-day administration of schools, and would reduce the social inequities that are currently promulgated by institutions of education. A conception of professionalism is presented. A summary, conclusion, and 36 references are included. Five selected readings complete the monograph: (1) "Problems in the Production and Utilization of Knowledge in Educational Administration" (J. Hills); (2) "Toward a Theory of Professionalization" (P. B. Forsyth and T. J. Danisiewicz); (3) "The Theorectical Limits of Professionalization" (W. J. Goode); (4) "Maintenance of Occupational Control: The Case of Professions" (J. Child and J. Fulk); and (5) "Toward a Redefinition of Professionalism in Educational Administration" (P. F. Silver). Readings include notes or references, and an annotated bibliography is supplied. (WTH)

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ESA 841 THEORY AND PRACTICE IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Professionalism in Educational Administration

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Paula F. Silver

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Professionalism in educational administration

Paula F. Silver
University of Illinois
at Urbana-Champaign

Deakin University
Victoria 3217
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Course team
Richard Bates (chairman)
Diana Macmillan (course developer)
Consultants
William Boyd
John Codd
Don Erickson
William Foster
Henry Giroux
Peter Gronn
Laurence Iannaccone
Edward Kynaston
Thomas Popkewitz
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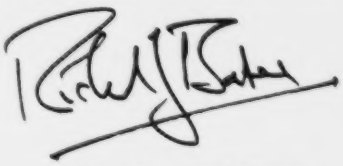
Series Introduction

It is now widely recognised, among theorists and practitioners alike, that the traditions that have informed educational administration as a field of study for several decades are of only limited use in coming to terms with the complexity and value-laden nature of educational practice. The sudden politisation of the context and conduct of education has raised issues of immediate import that cannot be dealt with adequately by functionalist analysis of behavioural science. The collapse of these theoretical traditions in educational administration has produced a vacuum into which a very haphazard collection of intellectual bric-a-brac has been sucked. As a result, both theorists and the practitioners who look to them for help in an increasingly disordered world are alike in their bewilderment. How can alternative formulations be developed? How can reliable and relevant analysis be made?

The series of books of which this volume is a part is an attempt to explore a variety of intellectual traditions that have, until now, been largely ignored or dismissed by educational administrators. Each of the books is an attempt to bring a particular intellectual perspective to bear on the practical problems of administering education. They are, therefore, diverse in their starting points and in their analysis. What they have in common, however, is a rejection of a purely technical, functionalist approach to educational administration, and a commitment to a critical and reflexive consideration of educational practice.

The ideas presented in the introductory essays are necessarily an encapsulation of arguments which have developed and are developing more fully elsewhere. In order to assist readers to participate in these developments, selected readings are attached to each paper, and an annotated bibliography of key works is provided. We hope that the publication of this series will encourage others to join a necessary exploration of alternative perspectives in educational administration. Such exploration is long overdue.



Course team chairman

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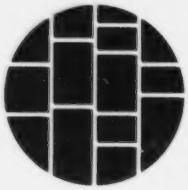
Professionalism in educational administration



Introduction

Early in my teaching career in educational administration, while conducting an introductory course in organisation theory for a group of educational administrators from New York City and its environs, I encountered an irate student who was deeply resentful of the requirement that he take this course. 'What good is all this theory stuff?' he demanded. 'What I need to know is how to raise the reading levels and the maths scores in my school!'

How naïve and simplistic, I thought at the time, for I was imbued with the zeal of the 'theory movement'. How stubborn and irascible he was to be unwilling to stretch his mind to seek the relevance of these theories to his day-to-day problems! But the fact is, neither I nor anyone else professing to know educational administration could teach this sincerely concerned administrator how to raise students' reading and maths scores.

That was in the mid-1970s, and thinking within the professoriate in the United States had not been seriously affected by the scholarship that was emerging in Europe and throughout the behavioural science disciplines. The belief that the approach to knowledge production used in the natural sciences is the only viable one for generating knowledge in educational administration still held sway in the minds and works of most leading professors here (Greenfield 1975). Now, after being the target of attacks from numerous sources for many years, this belief in the theory movement is crumbling, and scholarship in educational administration is said to be in crisis (Griffiths 1979).

The central thesis of this essay is that the quest for a general theory of educational administration has been a misdirection of effort and that the advancement of professionalism within this field would represent a more sensible endeavour for the production of useful knowledge. The advancement of professionalism would entail a reorientation of research towards the outcomes of schooling and would necessitate close interaction between researchers and practitioners. It would yield a codified body of knowledge that is useful to practitioners in the day-to-day administration of schools and would reduce the social inequities that are currently promulgated by institutions of education.

But professionalism and the trend in technological societies towards professionalisation have been criticised on a variety of grounds, not the least cogent of which concerns the means of knowledge production in many of the applied professions.

My intention in this introductory essay is to present a conception of professionalism that holds promise for the field of educational administration, to defend this conception against possible attack from several sources, and to set forth some ideas about what this reorientation of the field would mean for the conduct of practice and research in educational administration. The first major section of the paper is an attempt to demonstrate that the viewpoints which guided the theory movement are inappropriate for this field and to introduce a more clinical perspective. The second section is an exploration of professionalism as it has been viewed by sociologists in the past and of the implications of professionalism for research and practice in educational administration. The third segment is a brief overview of some contemporary criticisms. Finally, a research strategy for advancing professionalism in this field is proposed. Following a short summary of this paper there are a selected set of readings and a

bibliography whereby students can become more familiar with the ideas introduced in this paper.

Professions as distinguished from academic disciplines

The inception of the theory movement in the mid-1950s represented a major shift in thinking about educational administration from the highly prescriptive and experience-based approaches of the earlier era to the use of theories drawn from behavioural science disciplines (Farquhar 1977). This reorientation of thinking was strongly influenced by a movement originating in Austria called logical positivism (see Culbertson 1980). Among the basic tenets of logical positivism is the assertion that knowledge in all spheres can best be produced scientifically — that is, by linking observations of reality to highly abstract systems of thought, called theories, which have the internal consistency of pure symbolic logic. Each step of the research process, then, is to be related rationally to the theoretical abstraction which, if supported by the empirical findings, would constitute knowledge about the reality being studied (see Reynolds 1971, Kerlinger 1964).

The positivist approach to the study of educational administration held tremendous appeal throughout the field because it promised to bring coherence to a body of disparate survey findings and to bring the prestige of science to a field that is highly vulnerable to public and academic criticism.

Many of the leading thinkers in the field were persuaded that this approach to knowledge production was the best or the only sensible strategy for the field of educational administration, and so the quest for theory in educational administration or for a general theory of educational administration was launched. Daniel Griffiths, for example, writing in the late 1950s, stated:

> At present, we do not have an adequate theory and so we lack a set of principles to teach as the content of administration . . . The great job to be done is to develop a theory which can accommodate and illuminate the assortment of research from the behavioural sciences, the fact and fancy in our own field, as well as point the way to new knowledge. This theory will enable us to sort out relevant facts, to give meaning to the batches of data we now have, and to disclose needed areas of study (Griffiths 1959, p. 5).

In the mid-1960s, Andrew Halpin published a paradigm for research that served the avowed purpose of promoting the development of a theory of administration (Halpin 1966). Of particular interest in the context of this paper, the recommended research program primarily focused inquiry on the administrator and her or his organisational context, an emphasis that has dominated theory-based research since then. A recent spokesperson for the theory movement, Wayne Hoy, reasserted the credo that 'educational administration, as a discipline, can best preserve its own uniqueness by reaffirming its commitment to scientific research' (Hoy 1978, p. 1), by which he meant a commitment to tests of hypotheses deduced from abstract theories.

An important characteristic of the theory movement, as exemplified by

the references cited above, has been the proclivity of its scholars to treat educational administration as if it were an academic discipline rather than a field of practice. However, each academic discipline — such as chemistry, physics, history or anthropology — has as its focus of inquiry a particular class of phenomena (chemicals, physical matter, the past, or social cultures), and each discipline develops its own distinctive body of theory and its own unique methods of inquiry. But a claim that administration is a phenomenon distinguishable from all other phenomena would be a difficult one to sustain, and the fact that this field has not yet generated any theory or theories of educational administration further supports the view that this field is not a discipline, Hoy's terminology notwithstanding. At best we have been an interdisciplinary field of inquiry which draws theories from social science disciplines, such as sociology and economics, as the bases for research about educational organisations and their administrators.

The fact that the theory movement bore with it a notion that educational administration is, or should be, a discipline served to focus the attention of researchers on administrators themselves and on their characteristics, behaviour, and organisational contexts, as if administrators and administration were the phenomena to be understood (described, explained, or predicted). Scant attention was directed towards how administrators can enhance the outcomes of their schools (or districts) or towards what administrators can do to reduce the inequities of schooling. An analogous approach to inquiry in medicine, to take one example, would be to study physicians — what personalities they have, their behaviour patterns, how they make decisions, what issues they see as important — and to study what physicians can do to increase human health or reduce malfunctioning within people. While such an approach in the field of medicine would be patently absurd, it is one that has dominated inquiry in educational administration throughout the past two decades, though it is equally absurd in this context.

James Coleman's insights about the distinction between research *about* policy making and research to *guide* policy making is pertinent here. The former is what Coleman called 'discipline-oriented' in that it seeks to illuminate the nature of policy making as a social process; the latter is what he called 'decision-oriented' in that it seeks to provide information used by policy makers to influence (or justify) their decisions (Coleman 1972). Theory-based research in educational administration has been almost all 'discipline-oriented' and hardly at all 'decision-oriented'.

Although representative scholars of the theory movement generally recognised the need for knowledge about how to improve practice, their research efforts were not directed explicitly towards practice; nor were their theoretical frameworks linked conceptually or empirically to the improvement of practice. One of the few thinkers to emphasise the clinical nature of educational administration is Jean Hills, whose work serves as a foundation upon which some of my own thinking about professionalism is built. In an article published in the late 1970s, Hills noted that in addition to generating and disseminating knowledge, '*the applied professions also assume responsibility for managing on-going practical processes and for seeking and implementing solutions to concrete, practical problems*' (Hills 1978, p. 2). He went on to point out that in applied professions such as

medicine, engineering, architecture, and law, much of the knowledge is rooted in theoretical frameworks from the academic disciplines, but — and this is of key importance — the knowledge is organised in accordance with classes of problems encountered in day-to-day practice. One of the distinctions between educational administration and other fields of practice named, then, is in the way the available knowledge is organised.

Some recent critics of the field of educational administration have maintained that the knowledge in this field is not organised at all. Donald Erickson, for example, after reviewing the corpus of literature in this field, determined that researchers look at 'a wide range of organizational phenomena, at the politics and economics of education, at the socialization of everyone in sight, at school law, and at a constantly shifting agglomerate of other areas' (Erickson 1979, p. 9). He, along with other reviewers of the research literature (such as Boyan 1981, Immegart 1977, Charters 1978), could find no conceptual unity in this field. Erickson's support of a program of research on the effects of schooling is somewhat congruent with Hills's clinical focus and thus represents another basis for the professional orientation proposed in this paper.

In the academic disciplines, which are fields of inquiry in which basic research is conducted for purposes of understanding the nature of phenomena, scholars qua scholars need not be concerned with the social applications of the knowledge they produce (though as individual human beings they might be so concerned). In the service professions, by contrast, scholarship is almost exclusively of the applied research type and is conducted for purposes of developing techniques for solving particular problems encountered in practice. Practising professionals can turn to the published literature in their respective fields and find the current knowledge about most problems they encounter because that knowledge is codified with reference to classes of practical problems. In educational administration, practitioners do not resort to the literature in the field because they know they will not find there current knowledge about how to solve the problems they are facing. Hills (1978) urged a research focus on practical problems, but he did not suggest an organising scheme for generating 'usable' knowledge, and he did not distinguish between situations that practitioners might perceive to be problematic (such as an uncooperative teacher or a vociferous local pressure group) and problems that are legitimate foci for professional concern.

Practitioners in the service professions such as those named earlier encounter many personal discomforts in the day-to-day course of practice — recalcitrant clients, inconvenient legislative mandates, inefficient personnel, conflict within the workplace, and the like. However, those personal discomforts are not regarded as appropriate issues for research and knowledge production in those fields. Instead, a class of problems encountered *by the people served by the profession* provides the basis for research and development efforts. In the field of law, for example, the categories of injustices that *clients* experience constitute the foundations for legal research and the organising scheme for the knowledge produced; in medicine it is the types of maladies that *clients* experience that serve a similar function. In brief, the client's problems, not the practitioner's, are the foci of knowledge production. Erickson (1979) approached this perspective by urging a research focus on student outcomes, but he did

not offer a classification scheme for organising student outcome problems or for ordering research agendas.

The stance taken in this paper is that educational administration should be regarded as an emerging profession rather than as a field of academic interest and that this shift in orientation necessitates a focus on practice. Furthermore, since students are the indirect clients of practice in educational administration, it is the learning problems experienced by students that should serve as the focus for attention in research and development. A typology of learning problems on the part of students would constitute a scheme for the codification of knowledge that is generated. To this end, the framework provided by Benjamin Bloom (1956) that conceptually distinguishes cognitive, affective, and psychomotor learnings might be a suitable starting point.

In essence, the professionalisation of educational administration would entail generating knowledge about how schools as organisations affect students' cognitive, affective, and psychomotor learnings and, more to the point, how administrators can organise those learning environments to both maximise student learning in all those domains and minimise learning inequities in all those domains. The administrator's professional knowledge, given this problem focus, would encompass such matters as establishing organisational structures whereby teachers function optimally, providing constructive supervision and effective staff-development programs, garnering and allocating resources for enhancing the educational program, fostering appropriate curriculum development, and related school-wide concerns that have indirect bearing upon school effects.

More will be said about the problem focus for this field and about what might be meant by 'maximising student learning' as this paper progresses. At this point, however, some clarification of professionalism and the nature of professions seems to be in order.

Professions as distinguished from other occupations

The nature of working life and differences amongst occupations have long been of interest to sociologists. Of particular interest has been the prestigious professions and what distinguishes them from other occupations. Consequently, a substantial body of literature has evolved centering on the unique features of professions as a distinctive type of occupation. One of the classics in this sphere is an essay by Carr-Saunders, who viewed the growth of professionalism as one of the most hopeful features of the early twentieth century. He defined a profession as 'an occupation based upon specialized intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a definite fee or salary' (Carr-Saunders 1966 reprint, p. 4).

Somewhat more recently, Greenwood enumerated the five distinguishing characteristics of professions as occupations having: systematic theory, authority, community sanction, ethical codes, and a culture (Greenwood 1957). Since then, authors have generated innumerable lists of characteristics of the professions, including, in addition to Greenwood's list, licensure to practice, professional associations and scholarly journals, autonomy from clients and supervisors, and power to restrict membership

and to influence legislation.

In recognition of the claims made by those in many occupations to professional status and of the fact that many new conceptions were emerging that had been accorded the status of professions, scholars acknowledged that professionalism is a continuum rather than an absolute state. That is, occupations should be considered more or less professional depending upon the number of features of the 'ideal type' they possess. In addition, the evolution of a field of work from an occupation to a profession (or the reverse) was recognised, so that the progression from one type of occupation to another could be seen as a process — specifically, the process of professionalisation. Recently, Forsyth and Danisiewicz (1982) set forth an instructive theoretical framework for contemplating professionalisation, suggesting that those occupations that have the requisite essentialness, exclusivity, and complexity and which engage in image-building activities of various sorts might gain sufficient public recognition to become true professions (as opposed to semi-professions or mimic professions).

Earlier in this paper, I maintained that the occupation of educational administration should be regarded as an emerging profession. This assertion could be supported on the grounds that this field has some, but not all, of the characteristics of the ideal-type profession and that this field can be said to possess the essentialness, exclusivity, and complexity to meet the minimal requirements of professional status. However, a more cogent reason for espousing professionalisation lies in the nature of professions themselves, particularly in the type of knowledge their practitioners have available and the type of service commitment their practitioners possess.

William Goode brought some conceptual clarity to the proliferation of lists of characteristics of professions by highlighting two multi-faceted features — professional knowledge and a service ideal of 'collectivity orientation' — as the core traits of professions, those characteristics from which all the others could be deduced (Goode 1969). In his late-1960s essay, Goode (1969) defined *professional knowledge* as having seven characteristics:

1 it is abstract and codified;
2 it is believed to be applicable to concrete problems;
3 it is believed to be directly useful in solving concrete problems;
4 it is regarded as exclusive to a particular occupational group;
5 it is created, organised, and transmitted by the occupational group;
6 it is adjudged to be validly (or invalidly) applied only by members of the occupational group; and
7 it is extensive and difficult enough to acquire to bear an aura of mystery to outsiders.

He also defined a professional *service ideal* as having four major characteristics:

1 it entails determination by the practitioner, not the client, as to what the client's needs are;
2 it necessitates real sacrifice by the practitioner;
3 it is believed to guide the practitioner's actual behaviour; and
4 it is rewarded by the professional community to the extent that it does influence the practitioner's behaviour.

Without belabouring the question of whether the enumerated characteristics are necessary and sufficient to define the knowledge base, I want to underscore a few of the items for their relevance to the professionalisation of educational administration. The requisite abstractness, codification, and applicability to concrete problems have been touched upon earlier. However, the creation, organisation, and transmission of knowledge by the occupational group itself has not been mentioned. In each of the esteemed applied professions, each practitioner maintains detailed records in accordance with a standard format to document what she or he did in each case and what the outcomes of that action seem to have been. Case histories, hospital charts, legal briefs, blueprints, and job specifications are examples of such standardised case-by-case records of practice. In the conduct of inquiry within the professions, these records maintained by individual practitioners are an invaluable resource for generating both theoretical and technical knowledge about how concrete problems are solved. In educational administration, practitioners do not maintain analogous records, nor is there a format for doing so, and the result is a serious handicap in the production of generalisable knowledge relevant to practice. That such records would be feasible, particularly if students' learning outcomes represented the criteria for recognising administrative problems, is a matter to be explored later in this essay.

The professional service ideal also merits further analysis with reference to educational administration, for, as Goode (1969) explained, service to the professional community as well as to the public is at issue. The maintenance of detailed records, tedious as that chore is in the prestigious professions, is supported by all the practitioners (and not delegated to subordinates) in the interest of advancing the profession's shared knowledge as well as the practitioner's private knowledge. Furthermore, personal sacrifice in the interest of the client suggests that if educational administration is to be further professionalised, its practitioners must extend themselves in what they deem to be the interest of students and not themselves, the teachers, or their superordinates.

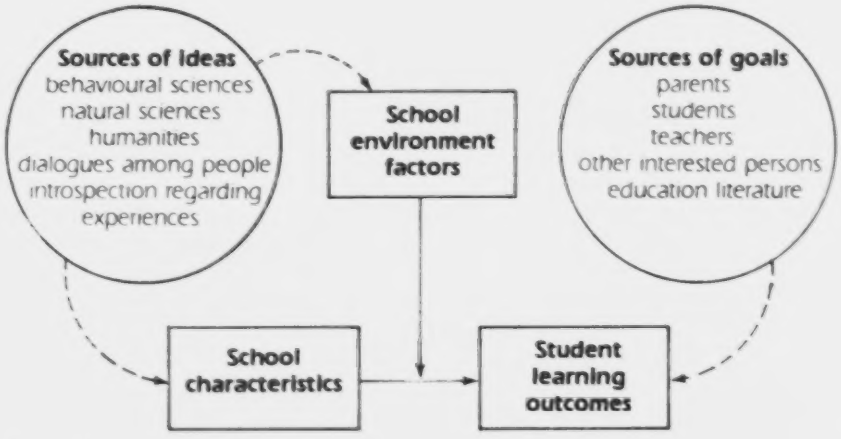
Now, many readers might regard it as naïve to believe that doctors, lawyers, engineers, and like individuals are consistently guided by a commitment to knowledge production and to self-sacrifice for the client. And such a view would be naïve indeed. Nevertheless, in each of the professions named, there is a code of ethics and a professional culture fostering those commitments. While many individual practitioners are 'in it' for the money, the power, the autonomy, or whatever, they nevertheless contribute at least minimally to knowledge production and they do orient themselves some of the time towards what they believe to be the client's best interests. Furthermore, the folk heroines or heroes within the professions are individuals who represent the epitome of insightfulness and/or self-sacrifice. We do not seem (yet) to hold these values dear in educational administration; we do not have heroines or heroes of equivalent mythical proportions in this field.

Where has this discussion led so far? I have propounded a research emphasis on the practical problems encountered by administrators in their efforts to enhance student learning outcomes as the appropriate focus of attention for the emerging profession of educational administration. The viewpoints expressed by Goode (1969), Erickson (1979), and Hills (1978),

as well as Spady (1978) and others, suggest that in the conduct of inquiry, we draw upon relevant theories generated within allied disciplines as the initial abstract conceptual foundation of our studies, but that our steadfast goals in research be to illuminate the impact of schools on student learning and, more importantly, to discover administrative techniques for enhancing that learning. A basic research thrust might be the nature of schools and their effects on youngster's cognitive, affective, and psychomotor learnings. The parallel *applied* research thrust would be how administrators, given this evolving basic knowledge, can affect the organisation to enhance those learnings.

The reorientation I am suggesting can be represented schematically as in Figure 1. Conceptualisations drawn from allied behavioural sciences, administrators' experiences, and other sources would provide the variables to be examined in relation to student outcomes, and the findings of this basic research would suggest strategies for improved administrative practice. These strategies themselves would be studied by means of 'semi-experimental' research in which practitioners themselves provide the data via systematic records of their own professional actions.

Figure 1 Towards the improvement of administrative practice



Rectangles represent data sets; circles represent origins of variables.

We are left, at this point, with a question of what constitutes an administrative problem in student outcomes. What circumstances, in other words, represent client difficulties that signal the need for administrative action and detailed record keeping?

The recognition of a problem presupposes a set of educational goals for students and assessment of student learnings to determine whether, and to what extent, the goals are attained. An administrative problem in education, then, would be signalled by either of two circumstances. One, the students on a school-wide basis (that is, according to measures of central tendency) attain less than the stated goal in any cognitive, affective, or

psychomotor outcome measures. For example, if an affective goal is that the students have high self-esteem and they are found to have generally lower-than-desired self-esteem, this is by definition a school problem and a call for administrative action. Two, identifiable groups of students (on the basis of sex, race, ethnic identity, socio-economic status, or other demographic characteristics) attain significantly different levels in any cognitive, affective, or psychomotor outcomes. For example, if reading achievement on grade level is a cognitive (or psychomotor) goal and if black students score significantly lower than white students in reading, this is a school problem and a call for administrative action.

How the educational goals for a school, or district, or other educational unit are established is a matter for discussion later in this essay. The important element at this point is that there be unmistakable standards for deciding that an administrative problem exists. Once a problem has been identified, the administrator can draw upon insights from the literature and from her or his experiences in attempting to understand why the problem exists and can maintain an orderly record of what is done in an effort to resolve the problem. These records can then be studied systematically by the research community, and, over an extended period of time, important insights can be gleaned regarding the way school administrators can solve certain cognitive problems, certain affective problems, and certain psychomotor problems. In other words, a strategy such as the one suggested here would enable the field of educational administration to develop a knowledge base and a service ideal analogous to those in the established applied professions so that schools can more consistently and reliably perform their public service.

It is important at this point to highlight the distinction between an administrative problem and a pedagogical problem with reference to the proposed focus on the student learning outcomes of schooling. If one or a few teachers have students who exhibit knowledge, attitudes, or skills that are below the desired level, it can be assumed there is teaching ineffectiveness at issue. The principal's role, then, would be either to see to it that those teachers gain the requisite skills or to relieve the school of those teachers. If, on the other hand, there is widespread evidence of student knowledge, attitudes, or skills that fall short of the school's goals — or widespread inequity of outcomes between groups — this suggests a more pervasive problem affecting the school as a whole. In such cases, the principal might have to look to staff morale, teachers' expectations, curriculum, instructional resources, organisational structure, school climate, and a range of other organisation-wide factors for the possible sources of the problem. Thus the two criteria specified above signal administrative problems rather than pedagogical ones. Administrative problems are student-outcome inadequacies and inequities on a larger-than-classroom scale. Issues of finance, legislation, politics, social psychology, and management come into play, but these are oriented towards achieving school goals thoroughly and equitably.

In another paper, I explored ways in which this reorientation of the field would affect practising administrators' attitudes, actions, and access to knowledge (Silver 1982). Further thought on the reader's part might suggest how this reorientation would foster the emergence within educational administration of the various characteristics of ideal-type professions

enumerated earlier. At this point, however, it is important to consider whether professionalisation of this field would be a socially desirable development.

Criticisms of professionalism in modern society

The recommendations made in this paper conform, in large measure, to the tenets of logical positivism. The recommended approach is a highly rational (goal-directed) one which entails drawing heavily upon theoretical models, amongst other sources, for the identification of potentially important variables, and gathering data systematically for analysis. Furthermore, the major suggestion has been that the knowledge so generated will be socially useful and that the field will gain in stature, prestige, and influence as a result.

But the trend towards professionalisation and the reliance on positivist methods of knowledge production have not been universally applauded. Some of the critiques of these two interrelated strands of scholarship have emerged during the past decade from a philosophical orientation known as phenomenology and from a neo-Marxist orientation known as the new sociology of education. Both space limitations and my own cognitive predispositions preclude an examination in depth of the legitimacy of these alternative perspectives. However, I will try in this section to examine some of the likely criticisms of the recommended approach and to defend my position against, or accommodate my position to, those attacks. The phenomenological perspective is treated first and the neo-Marxist viewpoint follows.

Phenomenology and the critique of professionalism

The essence of phenomenology as it applies to studies of social phenomena is the view that social entities (such as families, formal organisations, and schools) cannot be studied as if they were objects found in nature because they are wholely and solely evolving patterns of social interaction. That is, as Thomas Greenfield (1975) pointed out most graphically in a controversial paper, organisations do not exist like houses or gigantic shells that people can inhabit or vacate; rather, their ephemeral existence is created and recreated moment by moment in the interactions among people participating in the situation. Organisations, in other words, are *reifications* in that they seem to have existence apart from and superceding the participants, but actually have no existence other than the participants' interactions. For example, authority is a reification to the extent that people believe such a 'thing' exists in the natural or taken-for-granted world; but authority is created day to day by the acts of making demands on people and by the acts of acceding to demands without question.

Organisations, then, like other social arrangements, are 'socially constructed realities'. They are created by people in the course of interaction, but, once created, they seem to be part of the natural world. The 'realness' of their existence is conveyed to each member of the society by modes of interaction to which people have become habituated, and it is reinforced by the invention of words, symbols, and artifacts. For example, the ob-

servation that people who are designated 'students' often behave in a subservient manner towards people who are designated 'teachers' makes it seem (to both types of participants) that it is right and proper to behave this way; further, the invention of words like 'authority', 'respect', and 'knowledge', and the arrangement of spaces called 'classrooms' reinforce the impression that there is something 'real' in this pattern of relationships among people.

Berger and Luckman (1966) provided a vivid explanation of how the culture that people create is both a product of human interaction and constitutive of the reality people perceive. These theorists carried their analysis further by demonstrating that bodies of knowledge produced in the academic disciplines and in the applied professions are products (and determinants) of the dominant culture, of which scientists are members. Theoretical and practical knowledge, in other words, emerge in the context of the extant institutions, are bounded by the perceived realities those institutions embody, and serve the interests of those with positions of power in the institutions. Rather than being discoveries of some objectively real 'reality' disclosed by freely inquiring minds, the theories and their related research findings are culture-bound inventions, which serve the vested interests of persons in power. By this analysis, educational research on such 'pseudophenomena' as leadership, organisational climate, and systems technology is both spurious and malicious, since it is addressed to social conventions only and since it serves to bolster the social dominance of those already in power (see Popkewitz 1979a).

Phenomenologists in sociology, social psychology, and other behavioural disciplines would probably not assert that scholars in the disciplines and professions have as their conscious intent the subordination of large groups of people. Rather, they would see scientists as persons who have succeeded in achieving status in institutions by perceiving the world in socially accepted ways and thus generating theories (and research findings) that are, by and large, congruent with the dominant culture.

From the writings of several phenomenologists, Greenfield drew the implication that what we should be studying in educational administration is, among other things, 'how people in a social situation construe it, what they see as its significant features, and how they act within it' (Greenfield 1975, p. 95). From the viewpoint of phenomenology, studies of individuals' understandings of the reality they experience seem to miss the point that people are not idiosyncratic individuals with freely inquiring minds who spontaneously construct and construe their situations, but social products and social beings who, for the most part, interpret their situations in accordance with a 'received view' of what that reality is. From the perspective of professionalism as expounded in this paper, such studies might represent excellent basic research tied to academic disciplines, but they would not necessarily inform practice.

What, then, are some implications of phenomenology for the professionalisation of educational administration? First, the proposed strategy places the responsibility for solving school-wide (or district-wide or unit-wide) learning problems squarely in the domain of the individual practising administrator. This means that the practitioners must develop ways of perceiving their educational units that will enable them to invent successful solutions to the problems. While administrators are products

of their culture, as are teachers and students, their serious studies of a variety of theories (including those related to phenomenology) can help them transcend their unquestioned, taken-for-granted viewpoints and learn to perceive their 'realities' in richer, more complex ways (Argyris 1972, Argyris and Schön 1974, Silver 1978). Second, the use of explicit standards for administrative successes and shortcomings would, I think, serve as a check against using theories or technologies indiscriminately. As has been the case in medicine and other applied professions, inadequate theories would ultimately be rejected as more fruitful conceptualisations emerged. What is proposed is that administrators be reflective in their actions and ready to abandon 'truisms' in a constant quest for more pragmatically useful ways of construing their situations.

Neo-Marxism and the critique of professionalism

Sociologists supporting an emerging school of thought known as the new sociology of education take as starting premises the Marxist propositions that capitalist means of production necessitate the oppression of the labouring class for purposes of accumulating capital and that all the institutions in capitalist societies serve to promulgate this oppression. The subjugation of the working class is not accomplished solely through the use of outright coercion (though coercive measures are frequently used), but, more insidiously, through manipulation of the culture, the language, and the ideologies of the entire society. The concept of *hegemony* is of key importance in this regard. Rachel Sharp defines hegemony as

> a set of assumptions, theories, practical activities, a world view through which the ruling class exerts its dominance. Its function is to reproduce on the ideological plane the conditions for class rule and the continuation of the social relations of production. Hegemonic beliefs and practices thus shape practical ideologies and penetrate the level of common sense, mixing and mingling with ideological practices more spontaneously generated (Sharp 1980, p. 102).

Hegemony, then, is the bourgeois world view as it permeates the entire society and establishes the context of language, of perception, and of thought itself in the interest of maintaining and reproducing the prevailing power relationships.

Schools, as institutions in the society, are instruments of oppression by those in power. Schools perpetuate and elaborate the hegemony by means of the overt and covert curriculum — by the observable power relationships within schools; by the rewarding of conformist behaviours; by the labelling of people; by the imposition on all participants of certain beliefs about what counts as knowledge and skill; by restricting access to prestigious knowledge to students from the upper and upper-middle social classes; by fragmenting and technologising knowledge and removing it from experience; by distorting history in all the curriculum areas; and by a variety of other strategies (see Bates 1980, Popkewitz 1979a, 1979b; Young and Whitty 1977). While many liberal educators are genuinely pained by the inequities they observe, and sincerely believe that they are striving to right the social ills through education, they are seen as subjects of the prevailing hegemony, possessors of 'false consciousness', and hence unwitting perpetrators of the *status quo*. This was illustrated compellingly by Michael

Apple in his analysis of the distortions perpetuated in even the most 'progressive' social studies and science curricula and his description of the mindless docility with which children are imbued, starting even in kindergarten (Apple 1979). In a related vein, Mehan (1978) demonstrated how educators engage in behaviour patterns that systematically differentiate students and control their access to knowledge.

The criticisms of professionalisation in educational administration from the perspective of the new sociology of education are too numerous and too complex to identify fully. Professionals are viewed as a power élite who use their prestige, jargon, and esoteric knowledge to mystify and dominate people (Popkewitz 1979b). Their knowledge is so specialised that they have no time for (or interest in) broader humanistic and political inquiry and so they cannot see how their activities are instruments of oppression (Sharp 1980). Their knowledge is thought to be non-political and to have a 'facticity' apart from human interaction and human conflict, but they are both dehumanised victims and domineering creators of the hegemony of oppression (Friere 1981).

The literature of the new sociology of education poses a range of new questions and provides a convincing, though disheartening, critique of society, but it offers no solutions that are applicable in contemporary capitalist nations or their schools. From the vantage point of the new sociology educational administration as practised today represents the worst aspects of professionalism without the redeeming grace of doing something that is demonstrably worth while for at least some people. At present this field might be regarded as a 'mimic profession', for we have many of the trappings of professions, but lack the core elements of useful knowledge and a client-centred service movement.

Earlier, I noted that we would return to the issue of goal setting at a later point. The neo-Marxist perspective suggests that the goal established for schools should emerge from open dialogue and negotiation amongst all the interested parties — parents, students, and educators. Conflict among contending parties can be seen as a healthy catalyst for social change (see Coser 1956) rather than being suppressed or avoided as 'dysfunctional'. Now, truly open dialogue among equals is, of course, impossible in contemporary society, since people are accorded different status on such bases as age, sex, race, and source of income. But reflective administrators who are aware of current theory can strive to transcend their own ideology, foster self-expression on the part of those less privileged, and appreciate the legitimacy of divergent values. Through dialogue, which administrators make progressively more open as they grow to understand hegemony and ideology, a reasonable set of goals in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains might be negotiated.

The current common-sense or taken-for-granted view shared by most school administrators is that children of the poor are handicapped by a 'cultural deprivation' which causes them to do poorly in school and therefore be consigned to manual labour (or unemployment) later. The emergent view is that by treating children differentially, the schools (and other institutions) cause children of the poor to do poorly in school. It is to accommodate this legitimate perspective that equity in school outcomes is urged as a standard for success in school administration. To the extent that children of different groups attain the negotiated goals to different

degrees, administrators are expected to seek the source within the school and, through study, thought, introspection, and experimentation, discover or invent ways of closing the gaps in student achievement. Success in this endeavour might entail radical changes in the way people in the school relate to each other and might incur the wrath of those community members who want the schools to serve their interests only. These might be the prices to pay for generating applicable knowledge in educational administration.

Towards a more professional field of practice

If the appropriate direction of the field of educational administration is indeed professional rather than academic, and if the proposed standards for administrative practice are defensible in the light of contemporary thought, then what remains is to implement a program for approaching the recommended state of knowledge. To my thinking, this requires a novel research strategy that has not been tried in this field. It entails longitudinal research in which a large group of administrators — say, school principals— establish an explicit set of educational goals in the three domains and gather data every year on students' attainments with respect to all the stated goals. At the same time, it entails gathering data every year about those school characteristics that seem relevant to student outcomes, given our present level of knowledge, and data about students' demographic characteristics and school environment characteristics. These three types of information — student outcomes in relation to goals, school characteristics and student and environment demographics — would reveal each principal's areas of success and areas of failure in achieving the desired outcomes equitably and would indicate which school characteristics (if any, among those measured) are related to particular types of outcomes.

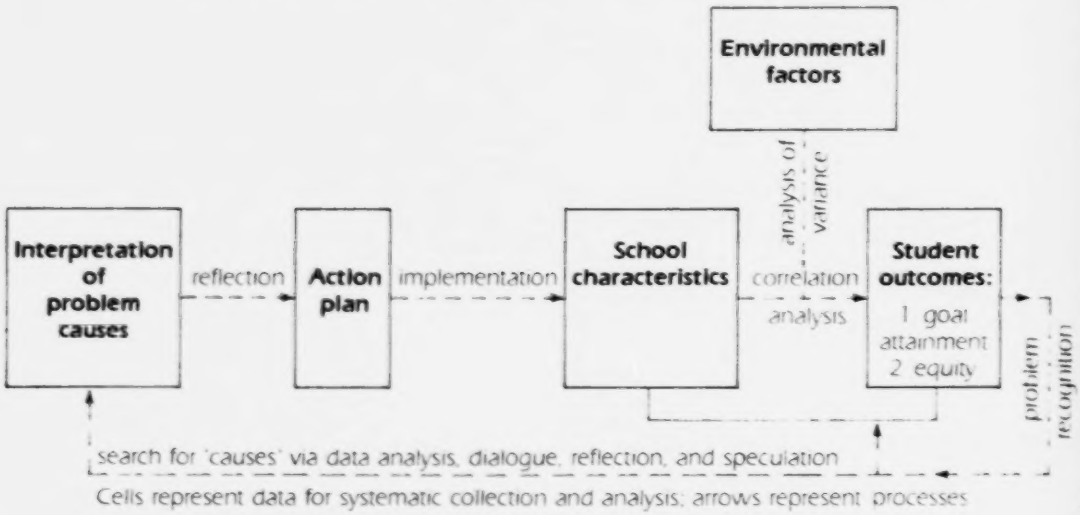
But that is just the beginning. The crucial part begins *after* these findings are obtained, when the principals generate and implement methods for solving the problems they discover. At this juncture, a standard format can be used for recording the 'symptoms' of the problem (i.e. the inadequate or inequitable outcomes in any area), the possible sources of the problem, and a seemingly reasonable solution. Through dialogue among the participating principals, each might gain insights regarding the nature of the problem and its solution. Additional sources of insight would be the correlational findings, theories explicated in the literature, conversations with teachers and students, and independent thought.

After the problems are analysed and possible solutions generated, these 'solutions' would be implemented in the participating schools. It should be clear that the change strategies would be unique to each school, since the problems are unique and the principals' conceptualisations and styles of interacting with people are unique. The implementations of change would themselves be recorded, perhaps in a diary or journal format, so that the steps taken can be studied. At the next testing cycle, and the following one, and the one after that, changes in student outcomes would be sought to determine whether the administrative actions seem to have had the desired effects. Over time it would be possible to discover, via this approach, which administrative efforts are apparently effective for

particular types of student learning problems in particular types of situations. Thus, a classification system for codifying practice-oriented knowledge would evolve over time.

The research program proposed here can be illustrated with reference to Figure 2, which is intended to indicate that the information about student outcomes and about relationships between social characteristics and student outcomes would be used by the principals to identify problems, consider their possible causes, develop and implement plans for resolving those problems, and test the effectiveness of their change efforts in repeated cycles of experimentation. Those school characteristics which were initially believed to be relevant, but found not significantly correlated with any student outcomes, would be dropped from the research program and others that seem pertinent, according to the state of knowledge at the time, would be substituted, so that over time the most significant school factors can be identified.

Figure 2 Cyclical research program for improving administrative practice



This description of a research agenda for developing practical knowledge about educational administration has been necessarily brief and has omitted many important issues. Not the least of these is the issue of measurement of school outcomes and school characteristics. The recommended approach presupposes the progressive improvement of measurement techniques, particularly for assessing students' affective and psychomotor attainments. It also presupposes changes in the stated goals of schools as community values change and as it is discovered that the goal statements omit important desired outcomes. In other words, what is recommended is a flexible, evolving program calling for creativity and inventiveness for each facet of activity, not an ossified program locked into prior conceptions of goals, measurements, or administrative technologies.

One further point about the proposed approach to knowledge production that merits mention is that this plan includes, but moves beyond, the confines of logical positivism in several respects. First, it calls for looking at many potentially important variables simultaneously rather than restricting the research effort to one theoretical framework at a time. Second, it requires individually tailored change efforts in what might be regarded as simultaneous case studies that can be conducted ethnographically or otherwise. Third, it involves what might be regarded as 'semi-experimental' research: individual traits that lack the rigour of tight controls, but have the advantage of flexibility and can be undertaken by several individuals either concurrently or at different times. While the reliability of any one effort is not great, the cumulative findings from many similar efforts would lend strength to the field's conclusions regarding administrators' action strategies. Of course, new insights and inventive change strategies would be shared among the participants and throughout the field as the research program progresses.

Summary and conclusion

The position taken in this paper is that academic research about administrators and organisations is inappropriate for the field of educational administration unless the research is linked conceptually and operationally to student outcomes. An orientation toward professionalisation was recommended and clarified with reference to the knowledge base and service orientation of ideal-type professions. The professionalisation of educational administration was seen to entail thoughtful practice directed toward meeting educational goals equitably and detailed record-keeping by practitioners regarding their on-the-job practices. Some criticisms of professionalism emanating from phenomenology and the new sociology of education were explored, and the conception of professionalism was clarified to accommodate those criticisms. Finally, a research agenda was proposed as the most reasonable means for achieving a more nearly professional knowledge base and service ideal.

I must conclude this paper with an apology for the brevity of treatment in all sections, especially those dealing with contemporary critiques of professionalism. The bodies of literature both in phenomenology and in neo-Marxism are immense, varied, and complex. These orientations represent 'grand theories' in the classical sense (as opposed to middle-range theories) in that each seeks to explain all aspects of social experience. I have tried to select some elements from those schools of thought that most closely pertain to professionalism, but I have not provided adequate support for the legitimacy of those critical claims. If the neo-Marxist thinkers are correct, nothing short of a revolution followed by a form of socialism that has never been actualised will satisfy the human need for freedom, justice, and equality. Until such time, educators who espouse the intention of fostering a more equitable and humane society must use all the intelligence at their command to discover or invent ways of realising such a society.

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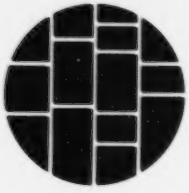
Readings



1 Problems in the production and utilization of knowledge in educational administration

J. Hills

INTRODUCTION

This "problem statement"[1] is grounded explicitly in the view that problems are not objective states of affairs in the observable world on which all competent observers can agree. Rather, a problem is viewed here as a state of affairs in which, for some observer, what is[2] the case in the world differs from what ought to be the case. From this point of view, every problem has at least two components: one alleges[3] an empirical state of affairs, the other asserts the desirability of a different state.

With that distinction in mind, I propose to formulate my discussion of problems in the production and utilization of knowledge in educational administration in three parts. First, I shall present my conception of the desirable state of affairs in the field of educational administration as it bears on matters of knowledge production and utilization. Secondly, I shall present my perception of what is the case in the field. Finally, I shall consider the implications of the preceding for action.

One further introductory note: In elaborating my conception of the desirable, I shall not concern myself directly with the specific field of educational administration. Instead, I shall present a conception of the relatively well-developed *applied* professional field. The selection of that approach is based on the view that it is useful to regard educational administration as an emerging applied profession and, hence, to examine the characteristics of mature professions of that kind as a means of identifying where we ought to be going in our field.

THE APPLIED PROFESSIONS

In the sharpest possible contrast to the purely academic professions, the paramount feature of the applied professions is the primacy of their orientation to a *clinical focus*.[4] In addition to acting as custodians of specialized bodies of knowledge, the applied professions also act as trustees of categories of practical interests and needs of society and its

members (e.g., the maintenance of health, the settlement of legal disputes, the effective organization of the educational process). While no less concerned about the maintenance, transmission, and extension of knowledge than are the academic professions, *the applied professions also assume responsibility for managing on-going practical processes and and for seeking and implementing solutions to concrete, practical problems.* Their ultimate focus is not the pursuit of knowledge itself, but the effective attainment of practical goals where serious interests of clients are often at stake.

The prototypical case of an applied profession is the field of medicine, which, although often referred to as a science, is not a science at all in the disciplinary sense. Unlike a disciplinary science—e.g., physics, chemistry, economics, or psychology—*it does not assume major responsibility for the development of theory* that will organize and provide guidance to the extension of an assigned body of knowledge. Its *primary* commitment is not to cognitive-intellectual values. Nor is it, as a body of symbolic culture, a corpus of formally codified knowledge organized around problems encountered in the pursuit of knowledge and in terms of theoretical systems. Quite the contrary. As a body of cultural content, *medical science is a corpus of knowledge the elements of which have been mobilized selectively from a variety of sources, on the basis of their relevance to the clinical problems encountered by practitioners in the field.*[3] Elements are drawn not only from a variety of subdisciplines in physics, chemistry, and biology, but also from clinical experience.

The disciplinary sciences and the applied sciences are not unrelated, of course, but they are distinctively different. Biological science and medical science are overlapping bodies of knowledge, and much of the content of the latter is grounded in the former, but they differ in content, in organization, and in criteria for inclusion of content. As suggested earlier, medical science, or any applied science, is put together from a variety of disciplines with a view to enhancing the rationality of action undertaken in pursuit of noncognitive, nonintellectual goals. Hence, the knowledge of these disciplines, which is organized around cognitive problems and in terms of theoretical systems, must be reorganized in terms of its relevance to those goals. While theoretically grounded, medical science is not itself theoretical.

Perhaps the most important reason why an applied science cannot also be a theoretical science concerns the relation between disciplinary knowledge and concrete, practical problems. The most insightful statement of this relation that I have encountered reads as follows:

> *. . . the structure of knowledge as a cognitive cultural system does not correspond point by point with the structure of the empirical world. Every concrete reality, physical, biological, or action itself, is from the point of view of cognitive understanding, a node where many cognitive systems interpenetrate; each taken separately is abstract.*[4]

Problems in the world of the medical practitioner seldom come in the

form of chemical problems, biological problems, or physical problems. And problems in the world of the administrator seldom come in the form of psychological problems, sociological problems, economic problems, or political problems. On the contrary, most concrete clinical problems are, from the point of view of rational problem solving, a nucleus around which to organize selected elements from a variety of disciplines. It is the case not only that every applied science is the confluence of many disciplinary sciences, but also that most, if not every, clinical problem solution contains elements of several disciplines.

To return to the matter of values, the preservation of health defines the primary value commitment and clinical focus of the medical profession. This involves more than acceptance of the desirability of a vague state of being identified as "healthy." It involves, first, acceptance of a highly developed conception of the state of an individual person that constitutes health, and, secondly, a commitment to the implementation' of those values in the sense of contributing to the restoration of health in instances in which it does not exist. It is this conception of the desirable state as a standard in terms of which to evaluate existing states that provides the basis for the identification of health goals. The more clearly defined and widely shared the conception of health, the more readily identified and widely accepted the goals for action.

From what has been said above, it is clear that practice in an applied profession requires two major components: (1) commitment to the values defining the desirable state of the object of clinical interest, and (2) specialized knowledge and competence.* However, the acquisition and utilization of specialized knowledge and competence presupposes commitment to the values of both cognitive and instrumental rationality, i.e., the valuation of empirically valid and significant knowledge and its application, and the valuation of the rational choice of means to ends.

As a body of cultural content then, an applied field consists of knowledge and values, both of which can be subdivided into several major categories. The knowledge component consists of (1) knowledge derived from the accumulated experience of practitioners, including both knowledge of the types of problems encountered in the field and knowledge of more and less successful ways of coping with them; (2) knowledge grounded in, and developed from, the relevant disciplinary sciences; and (3) knowledge of the theoretical principles of the relevant disciplines.

The value component of the knowledge-value duality that catches up major components of the culture of an applied profession consists, as suggested above, of three major parts. These are the values in the service of which the profession is practiced (health, education, etc.), the values of the academic disciplines, cognitive rationality (valuation of knowledge, its production and utilization), and the values of instrumental rationality (selection among alternative means to ends on the basis of valid knowledge).

Preparation for professional service thus involves complex processes of learning, both in the applied science of the profession and in the basic sciences in which it is grounded. In addition, it also involves complex processes of value acquisition. Ideally, the outcomes of participation in a program of preparation for an applied profession are: (1) the development of motivational commitment to the relevant clinical values; (2) the development of motivational commitment to the values of cognitive rationality (with emphasis on the valuation of knowledge and its application, rather than its production); (3) the development of motivational commitment to the values of instrumental rationality; (4) the acquisition of knowledge of the applied science component of the field; (5) the acquisition of knowledge concerning the problems encountered by practitioners; (6) the development of clinical competence in dealing with such problems; (7) the acquisition of knowledge of the cognitive systems in which applied science is grounded; and (8) the development of higher-order competence in coming to know what one needs to know and finding out about it, i.e., competence as a learner.

Professions tend to be characterized by a view of preparation for practice as a responsibility of the profession as a whole, with some degree of division of responsibility for its several elements. Although the development of commitment to the relevant values (1, 2, and 3, above) tends to be a less than fully consciously sought outcome of the sharing and exemplification of those values across all components of the profession, cognitive rationality tends to be emphasized by the university-based component. University-based personnel also bear primary responsibility for the transmission of the applied science, theoretical grounding, and learning competence elements of preparation. The development of clinical competence, however, tends to rely on heavy involvement of the practitioner arm of the profession.

In their research activities, applied professions are oriented toward the development of specialized bodies of knowledge which, while grounded in the theoretical knowledge of the disciplines, are organized around the problems of practice. Members of professional school faculties must be sufficiently grounded, both in disciplinary knowledge and in knowledge of clinical concerns, to select from the former in terms of relevance to the latter. Selecting relevant knowledge from related disciplines is, of course, not the end of the matter. As noted above, simply aggregating disciplinary knowledge, or identifying it as somehow relevant to practical problems, provides little help to the practitioner. Typically, knowledge from a given discipline must be integrated* not only with clinical knowledge but also with knowledge from other disciplines. In addition, it is often the case that practical procedures, treatments, and apparatuses have to be developed, tested, refined, and retested. Given the nature of concrete problem situations as nodes at which a variety of theoretical systems interpenetrate, much of the testing must concern itself with undesirable side effects of otherwise useful developments.

On the other end of the theoretical-practical, abstract-concrete continuum, clinical problems are scrupulously observed. The consequences of failure to attend to clinical problems have been characterized in Bronowski's discussion of eighteenth-century medicine, when the "theory of four humors" was utilized as the basis for classifying illnesses. The folly of the approach

> *. . . was that it tried to impose a system on events which had not been sufficiently observed; and in time it came to dominate the observations themselves. In the eighteenth century the doctors dominated by it could think of no advances except to reduce the observations to fewer extremes than the classical four. . . . It was these large reckless theories which made a caricature of medicine and turned the doctor into a quack. . . . The great advances in medicine from the end of the eighteenth century were of quite a different kind. They were scrupulous observations of complex symptoms which characterized one disease and not another.*[18]

Research and scholarship in professional fields, then, runs the gamut from the "natural history" observation of clinical problems, on the one hand, to the development of procedures for the control of variables identified in the most theoretical research, on the other. No profession can afford to ignore either end of the continuum, although at advanced stages of development, natural history research becomes less important.

On the basis of the foregoing, we might summarize some of the salient characteristics of an applied profession as follows:

1. A pattern of professional association that encompasses persons engaged in all phases of professional activity — research, teaching, and practice — and that concerns itself with the advancement of all phases of professional activity.
2. A firm grounding in, and close relationships with, the relevant academic disciplines.
3. Specialized bodies of knowledge mobilized from both the related disciplines and clinical experience, and organized around the problems encountered by practitioners.
4. A set of clearly defined and fully institutionalized clinical values defining the desirable state of the object of clinical action.
5. Full institutionalization of the values of cognitive and instrumental rationality.
6. Detailed knowledge of the kinds of problems (as defined by clinical values) encountered by practitioners.
7. Preparation programs that provide for socialization in (a) basic theoretical knowledge, (b) applied science knowledge, (c) clinical values, (d) cognitive values, (e) instrumental values, as well as for the development of clinical competence (diagnosis of problems and selection and implementation of remedial measures).

PERCEPTIONS OF THE SITUATION IN ADMINISTRATION

If it were granted that it would be desirable for the field of educational administration to exhibit the characteristics outlined above, or even that

they provide a worthy, if unattainable, ideal, then the question would become, "In what respects does the actual differ from the ideal?" Given the paucity of firm evidence concerning the actual "state of the art" in educational administration, any characterization of the field must necessarily be tentative, impressionistic, and doubtless wrong in numerous particulars. Nevertheless, it does seem possible to make a number of probably valid statements. Let us consider the state of the field in relation to each of the seven characteristics listed above.

1. *Pattern of Professional Association.* Educational administration is clearly not a unified profession. Although there is overlapping membership in some associations (e.g., American Association of School Administrators, University Council for Educational Administration, and American Educational Research Association), it does not seem to be the case generally that professors of administration and administrators regard themselves as members of a single profession concerned about all phases of professional activity.

2. *Grounding in the Relevant Disciplines.* Although the field receives far higher marks on this characteristic than it would have several decades ago, developments in this direction are limited by several factors. The first factor is the state of development of the social-behavioral science disciplines themselves. For the most part, what the disciplines have to offer is not well-validated theoretical principles, and certainly not well-established empirical laws, on which to base applied procedures, but more or less plausible analytical frameworks in which to analyze and reformulate clinical problems. There are exceptions to the preceding generalization. For example, I am persuaded that theoretical understanding of the role of symbolic culture, and the conceptions it represents in human behavior, is sufficiently advanced to provide the basis for the development of highly useful individual and group problem-solving and communication techniques.

A second limiting factor seems to me to be a lack of clarity on the part of participants in the field on the nature of disciplinary theory and research, on the one hand, and applied research, on the other. Basic theory and research in the disciplines undergirding medicine are concerned with the fundamental question of how the human organism works, without reference to whether it is working well or poorly. Applied research, however, is concerned with the use of knowledge concerning how the organism works in order to develop means to change the manner in which it is working when it is working unsatisfactorily. In administration, the parallel to knowledge of how the organism works would seem to be how organizations work. And the parallel to medical science in the applied sense would seem to be knowledge of how to make it work better — whatever that means.

The kind of confusion and lack of clarity about which I am concerned is revealed in a variety of ways in discussions about the state of the field. For example, there are those who speak of "administrative theory." This

seems to me to be akin to speaking of "medical theory," which is a nonexistent entity.[11] Medical practice is based on theoretical knowledge, but there is no theory of medical practice. (Elements of one might be found in sociology.) Again, there are those who speak (as in the UCEA Planning and Evaluation Commission Report[12]) of giving new impetus to theory, of deriving theoretical concepts from empirical phenomena, and of the relation between theory and practice. Theory needs no impetus beyond some empirical generalizations about which to theorize, and the relationship between theory and practice is mediated by applied science. There is also, I believe, insufficient recognition of the degree to which theoretical systems interpenetrate in concrete phenomena.

Finally, it seems to me that all we have done so far by way of drawing on the social and behavioral sciences (apart from formulating research questions) is engage in a process of simple aggregation. We have courses in organization theory, the politics of education, etc., but these tend to be collections of elements of the specific discipline deemed somehow relevant to the practice of administration, presumably in a diagnostic sense. We seem to have done relatively little to integrate these kinds of knowledge with clinical problems and with the other kinds of knowledge necessary to provide solutions to the problems with which practitioners are confronted.

3. *Specialized Bodies of Knowledge.* The state of the field is highly undeveloped in this respect. Part of the reason is the lack of well-advanced disciplines on which to draw. Another part seems to be the failure of persons in the field to take full advantage of the reasonably well-grounded theories and analytical frameworks that are available. Still another may be the lack of careful attention to the kinds of problems encountered by practitioners.

4. *Clearly Defined Clinical Values.* Educational administration has no clear conception of its clinical focus. While there is a sense in which everyone knows what administration is all about, there is another sense in which no one does. Medical practice, preparation for medical practice, and medical research are all guided by a clearly defined and widely held conception of the desirable state of the object of medical action. Nothing remotely resembling a comparable conception of the desirable state of the object of administrative action exists in our field.

5. *Institutionalization of Values.* The valuation of knowledge, its production and utilization, and commitment to the criteria that it entails — empirical validity, conceptual clarity, logical consistency, etc. — are far from fully institutionalized even among university-based elements of the field. There is little doubt that knowledge is valued, but there is also little doubt that commitment to its production is low. Were the latter not so, it seems unlikely that UCEA would be contemplating measures to increase knowledge production and utilization. And, of course, if they are not well institutionalized in departments of educational administration, it is difficult to imagine how field personnel, who received their

preparation in those departments, could be strongly committed to the values in question.

6. *Knowledge of the Problems Encountered by Practitioners.* Without clearly defined and widely accepted criteria concerning what constitutes the desirable state of the object of administrative attention, there can be no detailed knowledge of the kinds of problems encountered by practitioners. Still, there seems to be enough commonality at the level of both values and situations to do a great deal more than has been done in this area. We need, however, to overcome our uncritically adopted bias against survey, or "natural history," types of research.

7. *Preparation Programs.* It seems likely that most preparation programs now include fairly substantial components of social-behavioral science theory and research — at least some course work in areas identified as administrative, or organization, theory. Since there is no applied science based in these areas, it is unclear what the reasons for their inclusion might be. This is not to suggest that there are no reasons, only that they are not well thought through and articulated.

Socialization in values can occur with any degree of effectiveness only in a setting in which the relevant values are consistently exemplified, implemented, and reinforced. In order for students in preparation for practice to internalize values emphasizing the production and utilization of knowledge, they must experience sustained interaction with persons who are committed to, and who do implement, those values. If students do not see their professors actively engaged in the production or application of knowledge, then one can scarcely expect them to come to prize those activities. Similarly, if students do not observe professors making selections from among means to their goals with whatever rationality available knowledge will allow, there is little reason to suppose that they will.

Although university personnel have few opportunities to interact with students in settings in which it is possible to apply well-verified knowledge in the solution of clinical problems (and little firm knowledge to apply even if there were opportunities), I am persuaded that there are useful applications of another sort to be made. For example, students can be taught extremely useful conceptual analytic skills that permit them to acquire commitments to, and to implement the values of, conceptual clarity, logical consistency, and elements of instrumental rationality. They can be taught skills in problem analysis and problem formulation that move them well beyond common-sense approaches.[13]

Finally, given the paucity of any content worthy of the name "applied science," the development of clinical competence is out of the question. There seem to be very few areas in which it is possible to provide practitioners with known procedures for either diagnosing problems or coping with those diagnosed, to say nothing of developing clinical competence in the utilization of such knowledge. One possible exception is the area mentioned above, problem analysis and problem formulation.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

What are the implications of the preceding for action directed toward increasing knowledge production and utilization? A first step in the direction of answering that question is recognition of the "fact" that the current state of knowledge production and utilization is a "symptom" of a variety of more fundamental conditions, namely: (1) an inadequate conception of the relations between basic sciences, applied sciences, and professional practice (or between the academic disciplines, professional schools, and practicing professions); (2) an inadequate assessment of the state of the social-behavioral sciences with reference to what they have to contribute to preparation programs and to practice; (3) an inadequate conception of the clinical focus of educational administration (or the functions of the administrator); (4) an inadequate definition of the desirable state of the object of administrative action; (5) an inadequate conception and pattern of professional association; (6) inadequate institutionalization of cognitive and instrumental values, and; (7) inadequate clarity with respect to the kinds of problems encountered by practitioners in the practice of administration.

What might be done under the auspices of UCEA to remedy these deficiencies? Again, the first step toward an answer to the question involves recognition of the "fact" that changes in areas as fundamental as these will be a slow, long-term process. However, I think there are some steps that can be taken to encourage more rapid development. On the "professional association" front, UCEA might take seriously the Planning and Evaluation Commission recommendation concerning the broadening of membership.[14] It might consider changing its name to something like North American Council for Educational Administration and including a stratified sample of school districts as members. It might also find ways to promote the concept of a unified profession, perhaps by encouraging closer relationships between itself and such associations as AASA and NCPEA. Such moves could contribute to the remediation of deficiencies 5 and 7 above.

Deficiencies 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 noted earlier are of a sort that lend themselves to treatment by task forces and/or by career development seminars. One can imagine UCEA undertaking a long-range program designed to yield publications devoted to a thorough examination of such topics as the following: (1) professions, professional schools, and the academic disciplines; (2) the state of the social-behavioral science and the prospects for an administrative science; (3) the clinical focus of educational administration, or the functions of the administrator; (4) conceptions of the desirable educational organization; (5) the place of values in professional schools and professional practice; and (6) the problems encountered by practitioners of educational administration.

As a means of stimulating interest and disseminating ideas, *UCEA Review*, and even the *Educational Administration Quarterly*, might

solicit papers on these topics and devote journal issues to them. Care would have to be taken to avoid superficial treatment of the issues and to insure the most thorough examination possible. That suggests that any product should be more than an edited collection of papers prepared for a career development seminar. However, that might not be the case if papers had grown out of task force or study group deliberations. One can even imagine, at some point in the future, the convening of a career development seminar devoted to the consideration of the products of a number of task forces and seminars focused on the specific areas. Out of this might come a publication providing a broad characterization of the "state of the art," with proposals for future action.

It seems unlikely that UCEA has the resources required to mount a simultaneous attack on all fronts. Therefore, it may be of some importance to speculate about more and less strategic points of attack. It would seem to me that the most strategic point, in the sense of yielding results that have implications for the greatest number of other areas, is the assessment of the problems encountered by practitioners. If it were done well, such an assessment could yield a number of contributions beyond its goal of providing specific information about problems. For example, it could (1) contribute to the integration of the field and university components of the profession, (2) provide specific clinical problems around which to mobilize both disciplinary and clinical knowledge, (3) provide information against which to assess the adequacy of preparation programs, and (4) provide suggestions concerning areas in which research efforts might be undertaken.

NOTES

1. This paper was prepared originally in response to a UCEA request for statements concerning problems in the production and utilization of knowledge in educational administration. For those unfamiliar with the acronym, UCEA is the University Council for Educational Administration, a corporation the members of which are approximately fifty U.S. and Canadian university departments of education. Since its formation in 1959, the Council sponsored a wide variety of activities and programs aimed at improving the preparation of administrative personnel in education.
2. In addition to "what is the case," I would also include "what is perceived to be, or anticipated as," the case in the observable world.
3. Or predicts.
4. N. W. Storer and T. Parsons, "The Disciplines as a Differentiating Force," in *The Foundation of Access to Knowledge*, ed. E. B. Montgomery (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968).
5. T. Parsons and G. R. Platt, *The American University* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).
6. Ibid., p. 142.
7. Either directly or indirectly.

8. Competence may be distinguished from knowledge by regarding it as the capacity of an individual to achieve goals by processes of choice in which valid knowledge plays a focal part either in choosing the goals, or choosing and implementing the means of attaining them (Parsons and Platt, *The American University*).
9. One of the most important aspects of the integration of disciplinary and clinical knowledge consists of the analysis and reformulation of clinical problems within the cognitive systems of the disciplines. Perhaps the reformulation of the problem of consumption as the invasion of the lungs by tuberculosis bacilli is an example.
10. J. Bronowski, *The Common Sense of Science* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1960), p. 56.
11. On the other hand, administrative theory might be usefully regarded as an aspect of organization theory in the same sense that neurological theory is an aspect of biological theory.
12. "Report of the Planning and Evaluation Commission," (Columbus: UCEA, 1977). The UCEA Planning and Evaluation Commission, chaired by Francis S. Chase, was established by the UCEA Executive Committee to consider means of enhancing the Council's potential for contributing to the advancement of educational administration.
13. R. J. Hills, "Conceptual-Analytical Skills for Administrators" (unpublished manuscript, 1975).
14. "Report of the Planning and Evaluation Commission." Among other things, the recommendations of the Commission called for the diversification of UCEA membership to include "state and local education agencies and other organizations which are committed to, and engaged in, constructive efforts to redesign and reshape educational administration and policy to contemporary needs," p. 42.

Source: J. Hills, 'Problems in the production and utilization of knowledge in educational administration', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1978, pp. 1–12.

Toward a theory of professionalization

P. B. Forsyth and T. J. Danisiewicz

2

Just what a profession is and how an occupation becomes one are questions for which many answers have been offered but few explanations. The terms 'profession' and 'professionalization' are virtual non-concepts, since scholarly consensus about the meaning of these words has failed to develop. As Friedson (1970:4) notes, the 'occupations to which the word has been applied are so varied as to have nothing in common save a hunger for prestige'. Given this ambiguity, it is not surprising that efforts to theorize about professionalization are divergent and hence difficult to synthesize. A critical distillation of the literature is necessary to introduce and justify what, it is hoped, represents an aggressive departure from the mostly atheoretical and sometimes demagogic discussions of the subject.

The general aim of this paper is to rekindle interest in theoretical explanation of professionalization. More specifically, this paper includes an examination of the theoretical limitations of the three prominent sociological approaches to describing and explaining professionalization: the process, trait, and power approaches. In addition, a point of conceptual convergence is sought, around which much of the professionalization literature is synthesized. Finally, a set of concepts and a theoretical model for the investigation of professionalization is proposed and tested.

Theoretical Limitations of Current Approaches

One approach to the explanation of professionalization, initially advanced by Caplow (1954), depicts a process or natural history of professionalization. It claims that a necessary sequence of historical events transforms an occupation into a profession. Wilensky (1964), for example, identifies a five-stage sequence: (1) the development of a full-time occupation; (2) the establishment of a formal training school; (3) the establishment of a national association; (4) the development of political activity to win legal control of licensing and certification; and (5) the establishment of a formal code of ethics.

The limitations of this historical process approach have been addressed in the literature; in fact, Wilensky (1964) himself recognizes that the process of professionalization is subject to change, as are all processes. For example, the path taken by modern professions to acquire professional status clearly differs in substantial ways from that taken by medicine and law. Goode (1969) sees the major flaw of this approach as a failure to distinguish generating traits from derivative ones. Ritzer (1977:47) summarizes his critical observations by saying that the historical view tends to generalize from past to present and future and that it does not recognize the importance of political processes. Finally, the approach simply does not coincide with our observations of the recent efforts of occupations to gain recognition as a profession.

While the historical approach does facilitatee a gross classification of occupations along a professionalization continuum, it does not move beyond classification to analysis, a requisite for theory building (Hage, 1972:6).

A second approach to the analysis of professionalization is the comparison of each occupation with an ideal type consisting of a constellation of traits which distinguish true professions from other occupations. Greenwood and Goode are among the numerous advocates of this view. In an effort to identify the major elements which most scholars would agree constitute a profession, Greenwood (1957:45) lists five: systematic theory, authority, community sanction, ethical codes, and cultures. Like other ideal types, the various combinations of characteristics identified by these and other structural-functionalists serve as a model against which an occupation is compared for the purpose of identifying its progress along a professionalization continuum.

Johnson (1972:24–25) calls attention to several serious deficiencies in the constellation approach. As with the process approach, constellations such as Greenwood's usually do not identify the theoretical relationships among the constituent characteristics. Lacking theoretical linkages, these efforts appear to be arbitrary. While Goode is willing to distinguish two core or generating traits (abstract knowledge and service ideal), he is unwilling 'to spell out in tedious detail just how these two core, though multifaceted, elements generate the commonly recognized traits of the established professions' (Goode, 1969:279). As we shall point out, however, it is precisely the willingness to tackle the thorny questions of 'how' that is necessary for the advancement of theoretical explanation.

In addition to its ignoring theoretical relationships, Johnson argues that the trait approach also fosters 'confusion between the essential characteristics of an occupation and the characteristics of an historically specific institutionalized form of control . . .' (1972:27). It could be argued, for example, that Goode mistakenly identifies the service ideal as a generating trait, whereas it might in fact function as a mechanism for maintaining previously acquired power by holding the profession above suspicion of self-interest.

Atheoretical listings of the characteristics of professions have produced frustration for scholars. The lists differ in content and level of analysis, and abound with conceptual overlap. Writers from one occupational area devise models that identify their occupation as a profession while excluding others. The confusion has led some to despair (Becker, 1962:27–46); clearly, the need for agreement on the conceptual content of profession and professionalization is genuine.

To some extent, the third and final perspective, the power approach, emerges out of frustration with the atheoretical constellation approach and from a sense that, rather than describing sociological realities, much of the structural-functional work incorporates benign self-descriptions growing out of professional propaganda (cf. Johnson, 1972:25). The ultimate conclusion of power approach advocates is that there are no real differences between professions and other occupations, only differences in power (McKinlay, 1973:63). The temptation of those who explain profession in terms of power is to interpret cavalierly and cynically the activities of professions and their practitioners as pure power mongery. Larson (1977:xvii), for example, views professionalization as 'an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources — special knowledge and skills — into another — social and economic rewards'. Ritzer (1977:56) regards the traits of the constellation approach as myths created by occupations to enhance their claims of professional status. He goes so far as to pose the argument that all of the professional characteristics stem from the power of professions (Ritzer, 1977:57).

Ritzer and other power approach advocates appear to take a position as extreme as and opposite to that of the constellation view. This position has the unfortunate consequence of underemphasizing the importance of the nature of the service performed by an occupation. It may be more reasonable to argue that the nature of the service/task performed by the occupation is the initial source of professional power and that this power will, in all likelihood, be used to protect the legitimate concerns of the profession as well as to generate a benign mythology for purposes of self-aggrandizement. While pointing out that many who take the power approach err by insisting that professional power generates the 'traits' and ignoring the fact that the 'traits' are equally or more responsible for generating power, we are inclined to share Ritzer's belief that the power concept has theoretical potential, whereas reliance on the previous two approaches does little to advance explanation (Ritzer, 1977:63).

In his discussion of problems of theory construction, Hage (1972:14) is thinking precisely of the profession concept as he outlines the effects of working with non-variables. Non-variable concepts, he argues, have retarded theory development because of lack of agreement on a conceptual definition, 'primarily because there is an attempt to capture many ideas, and this is especially true with ideal types'. Hage advocates the development of general variables.

> A general variable does not include all that one wants for an adequate description but again, here lies a paradox. By taking more simple concepts such as general variables [a continuum that applies to any culture and at any point of time] as opposed to ideal types, we move toward what Cassirer suggests, finding a number of continua — and thus a much more complex description than is possible with any ideal type (Hage, 1972:14).

Profession and professionalization are just such non-variables. We see the focus offered by the power approach as an opportunity to develop one or several general variables for theoretically and empirically examining professional occupations.

A Point of Convergence

If the power approach offers the greatest theoretical potential for understanding professionalization, and, as Hage claims, if the development of general variables is crucial for successful theory building, then the task is to discover or invent general variables for examining professional power. In their discussion of power, some scholars concentrate on the societal power wielded by professional organizations (cf. Larson, 1977; Oppenheimer, 1973; Friedson, 1970). Others are more interested in the power exercised by individuals by virtue of their professional affiliation. The present analysis follows the latter tradition and can be linked to earlier writers through the concept of autonomy, power exercised by individual members of an occupation by virtue of their membership in a profession.

The probe of the usefulness of the autonomy concept for building general variables to examine professional power begins with Hall's definition of autonomy: it 'involves the feeling that the practitioner ought to be allowed to make his own decisions without external pressures from clients, from others who are not members of his profession, or from his employing organization' (Hall, 1969:82). Thus, the power of members of professional occupations is manifest in several varieties of autonomy (cf. Hall, 1969; Friedson, 1970; Pavalko, 1971; Lawler and Hage, 1973; Braude, 1975). Two varieties appear to be of particular interest. First, Hall (1969:82) and others have called attention to the autonomy from the client practiced by professionals (Friedson, 1970:369).

Professionals control their clients 'rather than having to be finally responsive to the clientele's notions of needs, like a mere salesman' (Friedson, 1970:369). A second variety of autonomy exhibited by professionals is autonomy from their employing institution (Hall, 1969:82). As Braude states, 'to the degree that a worker is constrained in the performance of his work by the controls and demands of others, that individual is less professional' (1975:105).

If power is central to the concept of a profession, and if power in professional occupations appears to be manifest in the autonomy from clients and autonomy from employing organizations experienced by occupational members, then the levels of autonomy among occupational members might well provide a means to index the professionalization of occupations. Given this interpretation, the most professional occupations are those having members who exhibit both autonomy from clients and autonomy from employing organizations.

Few students of profession would disagree that power is at the heart of understanding the professional occupations. They would agree that professional power is directly associated with public recognition (Hall, 1969:90). The real differences among scholars precede the questions of public recognition and autonomy. The real questions, in fact, are about the sources of public recognition and autonomy. Jamous and Peloille (1970:109–153) accuse sociologists of ignoring the sources of power and focusing their investigations on the more incidental characteristics of some professions.

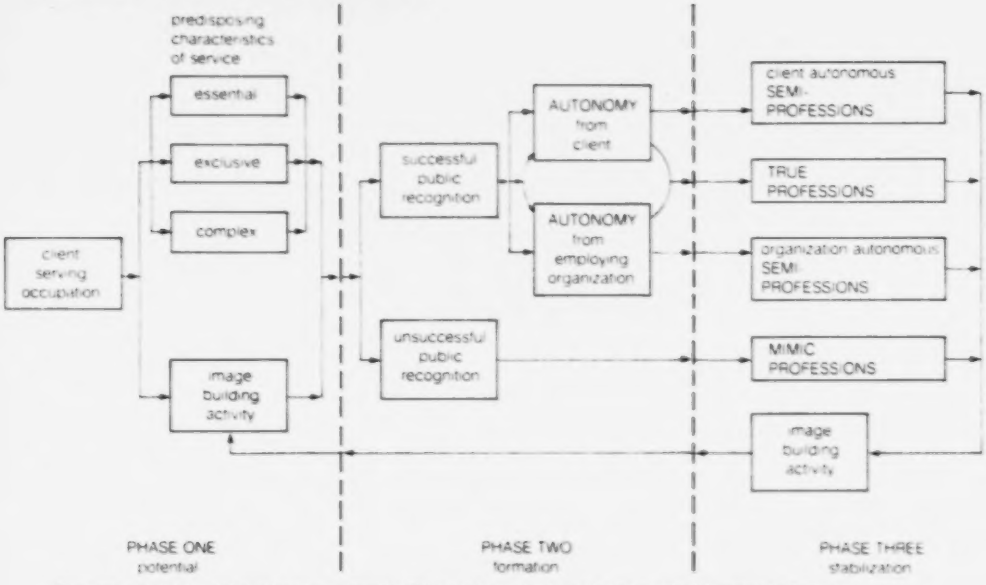
Indeed, serious efforts to construct theoretical explanations of professionalization must include precise conceptual and operational definitions of power as well as anticipate the linkages among professional power, its sources, and other concepts traditionally associated with professionalization. A sorting out of the concepts used to discuss professionalization is an objective of the following model.

Model of Professionalization

As we observed, some sociologists who study professionalization have focused on a constellation of characteristics describing the occupation, organizational mechanisms, and the nature of the occupation's work. Others have seen professionalization as image building; an ideological hoax developed by occupations for the purpose of acquiring and maintaining power. Our inclination is to argue that both the nature of the occupational task and/or image building account for the levels of autonomy granted through public recognition. Keeping in mind the legacy of contradictions inherited from the professionalism literature, the centrality of power, and the need to consider, hypothesize and test linkages among the sources of professional power, we developed the model of professionalization depicted in Figure 1.

Phase I of the model examines the potential a particular client-serving occupation has for establishing a claim to professional status. Two considerations are important here. First, the nature of the service-task performed by the occupation predisposes that occupation to professionalization if it is *essential* (of serious importance to clients), *exclusive* (the occupation has a monopoly on the service), and *complex* (the service is not routine and typically involves the individual and discretionary application of a specialized body of knowledge). Notice that complexity subsumes what some writers have referred to as the margin-of-indetermination (Jamous and Peloille, 1970) or the level of uncertainty (Johnson, 1972:43). As Ritzer (1977:58) points out regarding uncertainty, it can be either intrinsic to the task or artificially produced. Thus, a service-task may be essential, exclusive, and complex by its nature, or individuals and groups may seek to make it so, or they may seek to make it seem so to the public.

Figure 1 Model of Professionalization



The second consideration involved in Phase I is what we have called image building activity. The concept encompasses the notion of ideology as discussed by Daniels (1973) and Jamous and Peloille (1970). Image building activity includes efforts to make the service-task essential, exclusive and complex, as well as efforts to display the service-task as such to the public. Note that a task might be predisposed toward professionalization and yet those who perform the task might not engage in image building. Similarly, some occupational groups might engage in image building, yet the service-task may not be predisposed to professionalization. Or, the service-task might be predisposed *and* those who perform the task might engage in image building.

Phase II includes the public's evaluation of the occupation's claim to professional status and the possible formation of professional autonomy. The process involves the formation of a set of beliefs by the public that an occupation performs an essential, exclusive and complex service. Those beliefs might be responsive to the occupation's possession of predisposing characteristics, image building activity, or both. Successful public recognition, which concept is larger than mere legal recognition and/or licensure, is likely to result in a grant of autonomy from client, autonomy from the employing organization, or both. By virtue of the perceived awesome nature of the service-task, the public responds by deferring to the expert skill and knowledge of the individual professional practicing that service-task. The deference shown by the public at large and/or the uncertainty of the service-task will limit the control of the employing organization over the individual professional and his or her task.

If, however, despite the essential, exclusive, and complex task and/or efforts to display it as such before the public, the occupation is not perceived by the public as performing an essential, exclusive and complex service-task, then there will be no special grant of autonomy to the occupation or its practitioners. The great majority of occupations which lack autonomy belong to a type we call the mimic professions. They look like professions, have all the trappings, the formal organization, the code

of ethics, but they have no power. They have taken on the dressing but not the substance of profession.

The case of the mimic professions, which exert great amounts of energy to convince the public that they perform an essential, exclusive and complex task, points to an important relationship, the relationship between the predisposing characteristics and image building activity. That relationship is not independent. Clearly, the likelihood of successful image building is increased by an actually essential, exclusive and complex service-task. Thus, the role of image building is limited in the professionalization process. Mimic professions have built an image that exceeds credibility. In effect, the public must perceive congruence between the predisposing characteristics of the service-task and the efforts of the occupation to portray its image. Without this congruence, little or no autonomy will be granted.

Phase III describes the stabilization and maintenance stages. A second opportunity for image building is provided, and it is in this phase that we distinguish between true and semi-professions. We call those occupations true professions which exhibit both autonomy from client and autonomy from the employing organization. Semi-professions are those occupations which are highly autonomous on only one of the two power dimensions. Obviously, those occupations which have acquired power may use that power to enhance their image further in Phase III. The mimics may also continue image building, however fruitless that activity may be.

In summary, this model departs from earlier models of professionalization in several important ways. In positing clear theoretical linkages among variables believed to explain the phenomenon of professionalization, this model avoids the difficulties of a chronological approach and provides the explanation absent from the constellation approach. While focusing on power as the core of professionalization, this model assumes no necessary sinister motive on the part of occupational groups or individual professionals or professional students. Rather, it is thought that the essential differences among occupations claiming professional status are due to the power profile they exhibit and that this power profile is the result of public recognition, itself dependent on the characteristics of the service-task and image building activity of the occupation . . .

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This paper will appear in a slightly modified form in *Work and Occupations*.

3 The theoretical limits of professionalization

W. J. Goode

SOCIAL THEORISTS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO explain why an industrial society is a professionalizing one, and in fact the percentage of the United States labor force that is *professional and technical* does increase each decade. How far can this trend go? An exploration of the theoretical limits of professionalization should illuminate both sets of processes that create this trend: how a profession comes into being, and how a society facilitates or impedes the development of professions.

Such an inquiry leads to the conclusion that many aspiring occupations and semi-professions will never become professions in the usual sense: they will never reach the levels of knowledge and dedication to service the society considers necessary for a profession. Such occupations include school teaching, nursing, librarianship, pharmacy, stockbroking, advertising, business management, and others.

Further, most of the occupations that do rise to such high levels will continue to be viewed as qualitatively different from the four great *person* professions: law, medicine, the ministry, and university teaching. This view will correspond to a social reality, for they *will* be less *professional* in such traits as cohesion, commitment to norms of service, percentage of members remaining in the profession throughout their lifetime, homogeneity of membership, control over professional violations, and others. In this narrower sense, then, the occupational structure of industrial society is not becoming *generally* more professionalized, even though a higher percentage of the labor force is in occupations that enjoy higher prestige rankings and income and that *call* themselves "professions." An examination of these limitations should clarify somewhat the general place of the professions in modern society.

Competition Among Occupations

All societies are systems of competition among individuals. Each person makes demands on the money, power, or prestige markets, and these are accepted or rejected. But each is also a member of a stratum, occupation, or of various groups whose members are in similar positions, making similar demands. Leaders and their followers in a given occupation work out (consciously or not) strategies and tactics for aggrandizement on the basis of whatever amateur social science engineering they can command. Whether these people are united, as in a labor union, or merely a social aggregate, their total collective failure or success in these exchanges has a continuing effect on the terms of *individual* bargaining in the next phase, and on the rise or fall of occupations.

But though mere aggregate effects are of some importance, doubtless folk sociology is correct in its ancient assertion that a united group can gain what an individual cannot, or that an individual's investment in a group may ultimately pay off. Skill and time invested in the formation of a guild might, for example, yield an occupational monopoly from which great individual advantage could be wrung. Raising the educational standards in medicine in the decade 1910–20 required the expenditure of power, money, and friendship,[1*] but that investment raised the prestige ranking of the physician, the power of the profession in legislation, and the income level of the average M.D.

Such group efforts may also fail to yield any perceptible rise. Men invested enough to organize a Swine Breeders Association, and even wrote a code of ethics for its members, but that movement—like that of hundreds of other such organizations for which codes have been written—doubtless paid off more in friendly interaction among its members than in power or prestige in the larger society.

These processes by which an occupation tries to rise constitute a set of transactions among the occupation as a collectivity, its individual members, other related occupations, and the larger society. In the stratification of occupations, as in that of individuals, each actor decides what the other is worth and finds out what it or he is worth through the outcome of a continuing set of exchanges, of demands or offers made and acceptances or rejections received. However, for the most part these evaluations are based on values and norms each already accepts, and only over time are they created within those transactions themselves.[2]

Members of an occupation give a higher prestige ranking to it than do other members of the society; thus, they try to get more deference than others will concede. They are forced to accept less money than they want, and achieve less in protective legislation than they seek. They are held in place by their closest occupational kin (e.g., one of the various building trades will not rise much above the others), and by the refusal of others in the society to agree they are worth that much.

Economic supply and demand, shaped by such factors as monopoly, entrance restrictions, shifts in tastes, and the like will determine how high their incomes will be, but supply and demand operate in the markets of power and prestige as well. An occupation can command more prestige only if the society, applying its evaluative criteria, perceives the performances of the occupation to be better than before or higher than those of similar occupations. An occupation can enjoy more power if it can exchange some of its friendly relations, income, prestige, or political influence for legal privileges or controls.

Occupations that seek recognition as professions engage in transactions within all three markets—prestige, power, and income—with varying success. Most will not rise far or achieve professional status, but those that do rise *must change themselves*. (Self-advertisement may create self-delusion but will hardly persuade others.) They must be able to offer more on one or another of these markets, in order to gain more in return. In order to be accepted by the society as a profession, an occupation requires special transactions in mainly the prestige markets. If these are successful, they can be used to obtain more power and money.[3] However, merely clever transactions that yield power and money for an occupation are not sufficient to achieve acceptance as a profession.

The advantages of being accepted as a profession are obvious. However, few of even the privileged occupations can or will pay the costs of transforming themselves enough to become accepted.

Is the Professions Market a Zero-Sum Game?

Although people and occupations do compete with one another for the rewards of the total society, whether this competitive action system can be viewed as a zero-sum game depends on the time perspective. Over the relatively long time period of a generation or so, an occupational system as a whole may produce more goods, as it may also produce more prestige or

power, so that a wide range of occupations (theoretically, perhaps all) may benefit: all may rise. In such a perspective, it is not true that what one occupation gains, another must lose. In a declining social system, correspondingly, all could fall. In the shorter time perspective of, say, a few months, there is by contrast only so much money, power, or prestige to be shared. If blue-collar workers succeed in raising their wages substantially, white-collar workers must lose somewhat. For example, over the past one hundred and fifty years of automation of several kinds, workers have generally assumed that each job eliminated by machinery would create that much more unemployment, and they were wrong (it was not zero-sum). But they were and are correct (because the individual has but one life, his time perspective is short) in their *fear*, for at any given time there *were* in fact only so many jobs: the worker knew personally some men who had lost their jobs to the machine (in the short run, it is zero-sum).

These facts are significant in the general processes of interoccupational competition, but more important for our specific concern with professionalization is that some of the actions by which a semi-profession seeks to improve its position (guided by its leaders' folk sociology) are likely to increase its own prestige or income as well as that of the society. To that extent, these actions are not a zero-sum game. Obtaining a monopoly will, of course, yield an economic advantage to the occupation and not to the society, but raising the competence of entrants, imposing quality controls over members' work, establishing centers for developing improved techniques, and so forth will yield greater production for the society, and very likely a modestly greater amount of prestige for the semi-profession as well.

Thus, over the longer time perspective in which a profession becomes recognized, its greater eminence is not likely to have been taken away from that of another profession, but has rather been earned independently, through transactions in which in fact it has begun to contribute more to the society.

Individual Compared With Occupational Competition

At more than one point we have compared individual mobility and that of occupations, as a way of clarifying the process of professionalization. A few additional relations should be added briefly. Metaphorically, perhaps one might say that the competition among occupations lies somewhere between

the passivity of commodities on the market and the conscious activity of jobholders, but we can state the patterns more precisely.

1. An important contrast is that thousands of *individuals* have the same type of job, and thus compete directly; no two *jobs* claim exactly the same charter, so that the competition is somewhat more oblique. Many jobs have overlapped sometimes, amid charges of encroachment and incompetence. Some claim part of a task, while their competitors claim it all. Some claim the right to carry out a task, but also reserve the right to delegate it to another occupation, under supervision. A few of the overlapping jobs will remind the reader of these patterns of oblique or direct competition:

Lawyer–notary public.
Medical doctor–bonesetter–midwife–pharmacist.
Airplane pilot–engineer.
Sanitary engineer–plumber.
Plumber–steamfitter–sewer layer.
Veterinary–farrier; farrier–blacksmith; blacksmith–armorer.
Coppersmith–tinsmith.
Priest–psychiatrist–clinical psychologist–social worker.

2. Although a substantial percentage of *men* rise from blue collar origins to high positions,[4] almost no occupation has risen from a low rank to the top. Midwifery did not, for example, "rise" to become gynecology. Perhaps concert artists have risen more than any other group.[5] More commonly, an occupation destined for professionalization appears at a fairly high level, and then rises somewhat, if at all.

In the mobility of occupations, the following patterns of upward movement are more likely than is the high ascent sometimes observed in individual mobility: (a) a semi-profession arises from a *non*-occupation, e.g., social work from individual philanthropy or "doing good to the poor"; (b) a semi-profession claims to have a special "package" of high level skills, e.g., the city planner; (c) a profession specializes in a task that another had considered partial, e.g., psychiatry; (d) a professional specialty is built on new instruments and techniques, e.g., cryogenics or laser engineering.

3. As in transactions among individuals, competition is strongest among similar or overlapping occupations, because to some extent they are substitutable: one can be chosen, the other rejected. Especially in an expanding economy, neither an individual nor an occupation is likely to push another out by simply taking over the other's work. The rising individual

rarely actually rises by pushing another out of his job, but rather gets a post another man had hoped to enjoy. Similarly, the rising semi-profession is less likely to destroy another directly than to create a new package of high-level skills (social worker, marital counselor, management consultant, architect) that other occupations possess only at a lower level or only in part.

4. In a specialized technology, most occupations (of the more than 25,000 listed in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*) engage in few direct transactions with the society and thus are not even known to the public. They come into existence and disappear in response to changing industrial techniques. Their members feel little collective identity and make little concerted effort to rise, other than as members of a large industrial union.

5. Especially in a local market, both men and occupations can rise to high levels of income without an equal rise in power or prestige. In the early 1960s, some school building superintendents in New York City were able to earn six-figure incomes. Mark Twain's classic foray into the sociology of occupations, *Life on the Mississippi*, describes in detail the high income and (he claims) high prestige of the steamboat pilot.[6]

Effects of Competition Among Occupations

Before examining the more specific elements in the narrower area of professionalization within the *general* pattern of competition, let us consider briefly some of the consequences of a *social structure* in which occupations freely fall or rise. First, the outcomes of the exchanges between occupation and the society alter the terms of *individual* bargaining. For example, the rising prestige and income of university professors as an occupation will affect the new contracts that are made. The new terms will also affect the cost–reward calculations of potential recruits, and so affect the flow and allocation of talent within the occupational system.

Second, like lineage or family, caste or class, organization or social institution, an occupation must expend some of its collective resources even to maintain its position. Its rank is constantly threatened. Activities may range from proposing laws to the occupation's advantage to founding schools for the improved training of recruits, from publishing encomiums of the profession to establishing higher ethical controls over members.

Third, because the individual shares in the rise of his occupation, some people must decide how much of their personal resources to invest in this *corporate* enterprise. If the individual has himself moved upward occupationally, he may foresee an added increment from such an investment. In addition, of course, the organizational efforts of the occupation may offer still more opportunities to some individuals for prestigious leadership posts and activities.

Fourth, the total effort toward maintenance of position and the jockeying for additional rewards is a large part of the total allocation of energies and resources in the society. These aims and activities determine in part the establishment of schools, licensing commissions, research agencies, and inspection units; the granting of honors and posts; legislation concerning many areas of life; changes in technology, and so on. Such goals also shape in part the inputs and outputs of social institutions and organizations of the society; they are part of the major competitive processes that constitute much of human behavior.

Fifth, the efforts of all occupations, but especially the semi-professions and professions, to rise or to maintain their positions are a *source of social change*. As is clear from the foregoing discussion, these social changes—the research that becomes the foundation of a new profession, or a useful tool for an older one; the alterations in graduate education and post-college education in industry; legislation to protect a profession against new threats or to consolidate an emerging profession in its new privileges; the distribution of manpower —all arise in part from the efforts of various occupations to increase the various rewards they obtain from the society, to gain recognition, or to protect their privileged position from other aspiring occupations, semi-professions, or professions.

A Natural History of Professionalization

If various occupations do try to rise, however—and many succeed to some extent, thus contributing to social change—how far can the process go? Various analysts have described a natural history of professionalization, the sequence of steps by which a semi-profession, through its transactions with the society, is transformed into a recognized profession, but these statements are neither empirically correct

nor theoretically convincing.[7] Wilensky offers these steps:[8]

Full-time activity at the task
Establishment of university training
National professional association
Redefinition of the core task, so as to give the "dirty work" over to subordinates
Conflict between the old timers and the new men who seek to upgrade the job
Competition between the new occupation and neighboring ones
Political agitation in order to gain legal protection
Code of ethics.

Most of these social processes are going on simultaneously, so that it is difficult to state whether one actually began before another. For this reason, such a sequence is both time-bound and place-bound and thus accidental rather than theoretically compelling. To mention but a few examples that do not fit: the American bar, true enough, had no published code of ethics before the American Revolution, but it was well-educated and tightly controlled in its professional behavior; British barristers did not establish university training schools, but continued to train recruits through the four Inns of Court. Medicine and dentistry did not publish a formal code of ethics until the twentieth century, but in the 1840s men were expelled from their associations for violating their respective codes. Lobbying for protective legislation has been continual in the history of occupations. The ministry still has no formal code of ethics.

In the present era, people are likely to create a formal occupational organization to solve problems, so that a profession emerging now is more likely than one rising a century ago to use such an association at an early phase of its existence, but it is also likely to develop a code of ethics rather early. Even when a formal code is not written, a set of such ethical understandings is likely to be widespread. At present, such a concrete set of "steps" as Wilensky's is really a description of the many *areas* in which an emerging profession must participate in its transactions with other occupations and the society.

Moreover, and much more fundamentally, these formal steps miss the essential elements in professionalization. They do not separate the core, *generating* traits from the derivative ones. Many occupations and activities have tried all or most of these steps without much recognition as professions. It is

unlikely that a list of the specific historical *events* in the structuring of a profession will yield the organic sequences in its development.

The Generating Traits of Professionalism

An inclusive list of the occupations whose claims to professional status have been announced very likely would total as many as one hundred. The term is loosely used in popular language: I would hazard the guess that a majority of adults would accept the label *profession* when applied to as many as forty or more white-collar occupations.

Nevertheless, both laymen and sociologists do use various objective traits in making evaluative distinctions among these white-collar *jobs*; moreover, speakers at thousands of *professional* meetings have made hortatory and self-congratulatory references to similar traits. When tabulated, in fact, the characteristics attributed to various occupations in order to prove that they are professions show a satisfying similarity, suggesting that their foundation is a shared observation of reality.[9] The lists of traits also contain a hidden similarity, which I shall later analyze at greater length, that all of them derive from an ideal-typical conception whose closest concrete approximation is medicine and the priesthood. Ignoring variations in language, such lists report: high income, prestige, and influence; high educational requirements; professional autonomy; licensure; commitment of members to the profession; desire of members to remain in the profession; codes of ethics; cohesion of the professional community; monopoly over a task; intensive adult socialization experience for recruits, and so on. However, it seems worthwhile to abstract from such lists the core, or generating, traits, and those which are a predictable outcome of core characteristics.

It would be generally agreed, I think, that the two central generating qualities are (1) a basic body of abstract knowledge, and (2) the ideal of service.[10] Both actually contain many dimensions, and, of course, each subdimension is a continuum: with respect to each, a given occupation may fall somewhere toward the professional pole or not; and one may ask *where* along that subcontinuum any occupation may be found, even if clearly it is not to be considered a profession. Necessarily, too, at present we have no adequate measure for any of these subdimensions, and must be content with reasonable assertions about where a given type of job may fall. Let us examine each subdimension of the two core traits in turn before weighing

the limits of professionalization for a given aspirant semi-profession, or for a range of professions.

Professional Knowledge

With respect to knowledge, seven major characteristics affect the acceptance of an occupation as a profession. They are:

1. Ideally, the knowledge and skills should be abstract and organized into a codified body of principles.
2. The knowledge should be applicable, or thought to be applicable, to the concrete problems of living. (Note that metaphysical knowledge, however well organized, may have no such applicability.)
3. The society or its relevant members should believe that the knowledge can actually solve these problems (it is not necessary that the knowledge actually solve them, only that people believe in its capacity to solve them).
4. Members of the society should also accept as proper that these problems be given over to some occupational group for solution (thus, for example, many do not as yet accept the propriety of handing over problems of neurosis to the psychiatrist) because the occupational group possesses that knowledge and others do not.
5. The profession itself should help to create, organize, and transmit the knowledge.
6. The profession should be accepted as the final arbiter in any disputes over the validity of any technical solution lying within its area of supposed competence.
7. The amount of knowledge and skills and the difficulty of acquiring them should be great enough that the members of the society view the profession as possessing a kind of *mystery* that it is not given to the ordinary man to acquire, by his own efforts or even with help.

The Service Ideal

The ideal of service, sometimes called a *collectivity orientation*, may be defined in this context as the norm that the technical solutions which the professional arrives at should be based on the client's needs, not necessarily the best material interest or needs of the professional himself or, for that matter, those of the society. Again, this may be defined somewhat more specifically by its subdimensions:

1. It is the *practitioner* who decides upon the client's needs, and the occupation will be classified as less professional if the client imposes his own judgment.
2. The profession demands real sacrifice from practitioners as an ideal and, from time to time, in fact. (For example, the student-professional must defer the privileges of adulthood for several years after his nonprofessional contemporaries have come to enjoy them. In each profession there are junctures or different situations in which the individual should expose himself to threats and even dangers from the larger society if he is to live up to the highest ideal of the profession: the lawyer defending the unpopular client, the military man sacrificing his life, the scientist persisting in expounding the truth against the opposition of laymen, and so on. The profession must also allocate some of its own resources and facilities to the development of new knowledge—with the result that some of the knowledge of its practitioners becomes obsolete—and to the recruitment of the most talented youngsters available, though in fact this increases competition within the field.)
3. The society actually believes that the profession not only accepts these ideals but also follows them to some extent.
4. The professional community sets up a system of rewards and punishments such that "virtue pays"; i.e., in general, the practitioner who lives by the service ideal must be more successful than the practitioner who does not.

It is not necessary to spell out in tedious detail just how these two core, though multifaceted, elements generate the commonly recognized traits of the established professions. A brief statement should suffice.

The income of professionals averages higher than that of other occupations because their services are needed (they have the knowledge to solve a problem) and there are no alternatives. In simple supply-demand terms, they have a monopoly over a valuable product. On the prestige market, too, their product is valuable because of their dedication to the service ideal, because their education is high, and because their performances are above those of average people.[11] Professionals usually have a monopoly because they have persuaded the society that no one else can do the job and that it is dangerous to let anyone else try. They are permitted autonomy more frequently than members of other occupations

(professionals, not laymen, are more likely to judge performance), both because others are not sufficiently knowledgeable, and because others cannot be trusted to be as concerned about the client's interest. The shaping of legislation, the manning of control and examination boards, and standards for licensing are all more likely to be in the hands of professionals for the same reasons. Because professionals must learn to abide by a code that is different from that of the larger society, a period of adult socialization is more necessary than in other occupations. Because the rewards are high and a period of adult socialization (in which professional commitment is inculcated) is more likely, members are less willing to leave the occupation, and are more likely to assert that they would choose the same work if they were to begin again. A code is necessary to implement such service ideals, but it is also an expectable correlate of any subcommunity.

The Aspiring Occupations

Any predictions are subject to all the hazards of peering into the future, and especially so with respect to the problem of predicting that a given occupation will not develop a sufficient knowledge base for professionalism. Speculation will, however, serve as a vehicle for discussing further the dynamics of professionalization. These estimates divide occupations into three groups: some have become professions, some will become professions, and some will not. Later, we shall want to distinguish *among* the successful ones those which are closer to the four great *person* professions.

These occupations have become professions in the last generation: dentistry, certified public accounting, clinical psychology, and certain high levels of the scientific and engineering fields, such as electronic engineering, cryogenics, aeronautical engineering, and so on.

These semi-professions will achieve professionalism over the next generation: social work, marital counseling, and perhaps city planning.[12] An unlikely category is that of various managerial jobs for nonprofit organizations, such as supervising principals and school superintendents, foundation executives, and so on.

The following occupations will not become professional: within the medical situs, none will achieve it, with the possible exception of veterinary medicine. Osteopathy is gradually being absorbed into the ordinary status of physician. Nurses have been pressing hard toward professionalism, but

will not move far. Chiropractic will remain a marginal or quack occupation, as will podiatry. Pharmacy will not change its status much. Next, school-teaching will not achieve professionalism, nor will librarianship.[13] Many articles and speeches have argued that business management, public relations, and advertising are, or should be, professions, but none of these will achieve such a status.

This is not to say that all of these will retain their present positions relative to one another. Teachers will doubtless move upward in income relative to other semi-professions, and so will librarians and nurses. I am merely asserting that though perhaps all of these will move somewhat towards improving their economic and prestige positions, the journey will not be long and the movement upward not great.

Let us now examine some of the elements or factors involved in the process of professionalization, using various occupations to illustrate the process.

The Development of Professional Knowledge

On both the prestige and the economic markets, the aspiring profession must be able to offer its control over a more substantial body of codified, applicable knowledge than that controlled by other occupations.[14] However, to express doubt as to whether an occupation has a sufficient knowledge base to be accepted as a profession is likely to arouse considerable emotion among its practitioners (a test of this assertion is easy, if hazardous, to make). Any doubt expressed on this matter undermines the basic claim of any occupation to respect or pay from the society.

Such arguments are difficult to settle because three complex facts or relationships make any measurement difficult: (1) every occupation knows *some* facts or can do some things better than a supposedly higher-level profession (TV repairman–electronics engineer; pharmacist–medical doctor); (2) admission to every occupation or profession of any importance is so hedged about with rules that the entrant must learn far more than he will typically apply in the course of his practice—with a consequent overlap in the abstract knowledge base of adjacent occupations (e.g., the physical principles relating to ultra high frequency waves are relevant to a wide range of occupations and professions); and (3) it seems at least speculatively possible to build a broadly scientific foundation

for almost any job, i.e., it may be possible to develop a great deal of organized abstract knowledge applicable in any task, whether acting or typing. How much reality must there be, then, behind the public concession that the knowledge base of a given occupation is of professional quantity and quality?

Of course, how much knowledge the profession possesses is defined in part by the society itself. The witch doctor may have very little valid knowledge, but by the canons of truth of his society he may have a great deal. But we need not move so culturally distant as the witch doctor; the physician until the late nineteenth century is an equally good example. And certainly the validity of much psychodynamic knowledge of our time rests on shaky empirical grounds.[15]

Actually most professionals do not use much of their abstract knowledge and perhaps for most problems do not really apply principles to concrete cases, but instead apply concrete recipes to concrete cases. The physician learns much but utilizes relatively little of it in his normal practice. Similarly, it is not possible to obtain a journeyman's license in most of the skilled trades in large American cities without learning a great many skills and principles that are almost never used. One may almost say that practitioners are typically overtrained; on the other hand, such overtraining is a partial guarantee (because they will also forget much of what they have learned) that they can at least handle with ease the run-of-the-mill problems.

Because of this overlapping of knowledge between subordinate and superordinate occupations, an intermediate medical occupation developed, both in Germany and in Russia, between the nurse and the full-fledged physician: the *Feldscher*, who handled many simple medical problems. In U.S. military life, too, the corpsman often has to act as the near-equivalent of a physician. Moreover, the suggestion has been made at times that one way to improve health in underdeveloped countries is to reduce the usual long training required to become a physician, as most ordinary medical problems can be solved by someone with far less training.

It might therefore be argued that professions have persuaded a gullible public that all members must command an unnecessarily large body of abstract knowledge, that practitioners do not need that much knowledge in their daily practice, and that occupations exist or could be developed which would carry out most of their tasks with a lesser amount of knowledge. A brief consideration of this knowledge overlap clarifies further the nature of the knowledge base that is believed to be required.

Although much of the knowledge demanded for entrance

to any profession may not be used frequently in its daily practice, this is also true for any highly-trained occupation. Consequently, in ranking the various occupations by their knowledge, the society can consider only the amount of learning required for admission. That is, if the physician uses one-third of the knowledge he had to acquire to become a doctor, and the electrician has roughly the same experience, their actual applied knowledge ratio remains the same, and the M.D. still knows much more.[16]

In addition, just how much knowledge is required by society for acceptance as a profession is in part a function of how much the public believes is needed for crises. With reference to the major professions, the social pressures within the profession as well as the larger society demand that *all* the available knowledge be mustered for crises, or at least be on call. The man in jail, or with an abscessed tooth, will accept any reasonably competent practitioner, but he would prefer the highest level of skill he can command. A departmental chairman may have to accept lesser talents in his competition with other universities, but he would prefer to obtain the best physicist possible. Even if intermediate-level medical occupations, or similar ones within any of the professions, were to develop, the society would continue to recognize the highest level of the profession as responsible for *all* of the available knowledge.

Moreover, to the extent that some part of the professional's knowledge becomes so routine that it can be mastered and applied by a secondary occupation with much less training, such ancillary occupations do develop, but they are harnessed to facilitate the work of the professional. They are given what Everett C. Hughes calls the "dirty work," the tedious, less interesting, preparatory, or cleaning-up tasks—ranging from preparing the patient for the X-ray machine to educating the junior college student who has little chance of entering a university. Often, indeed, such helping jobs are even defined legally as subordinate, in that men in them are not permitted to practice except under professional supervision.

It seems likely, then, that one cannot assert that a profession is simply a type of occupation that requires its students to learn some knowledge in the form of codified, abstract principles.[17] In fact its members must acquire a good bit *more* knowledge than other workers, so that a lengthy education is needed, not only in a *practicum* but in book learning.

Another hypothesis may be presented from these notions: at any given phase of development of professionalism in a society, the successful aspirant occupations must demand that

their trainees learn about as much as the trainees in the recognized professions. The nineteenth century dentist, architect, or engineer had to learn less than the accepted professions of their day and enjoyed a correspondingly lesser rank. The physician, granted, knew much less than the modern physician but did have to learn more (much of it incorrect) than most other occupations. After the American Revolution, the intellectual demands on U.S. lawyers were lowered, and the profession suffered a corresponding loss of standing.

It is interesting, and perhaps significant in this connection, that all four of the oldest professions in Western society have maintained their high knowledge standing since the Middle Ages and have not been displaced by the new knowledge of the Renaissance and modern eras. Of the four (law, medicine, clergy, and university teaching) only medicine was scientifically technical in content when it arose, and even it always had (as it still has) a large element of human relations in its practice and principles. What one must say, rather, is that in fact these four constituted the highest intellectual levels to be achieved at that time. They required the longest study and the closest supervision by teachers over the acquisition of knowledge. To this extent they attracted the ablest of students and commanded most respect. In important ways to be noted in a moment, they remain the core of a sub-class of professions that differ from others.

The contrasting cases of librarianship and dentistry illustrate the importance of the knowledge base. The latter has certainly achieved a professional status in our generation, and I have asserted that librarianship will not achieve it.[18] It is only recently that dentistry began seriously to build adequate scientific foundations both for general practice and for the specialties within dentistry. Correlative with this change has occurred a rise in income as well as in prestige. It was always possible to develop the general biological knowledge on which modern dentistry increasingly rests, but dental problems were not defined as important enough to require that much investment in research.

It is an amusing quirk of fate, too, that dentistry is the only one of the medical occupations to achieve professional standing without being taken over by medicine. The ancillary medical techniques such as anesthesiology or radiology became medical specialties, and thus still under the jurisdiction of medicine, when their knowledge base became sufficient to justify independent professional life. Dentistry, on the other hand, achieved its body of knowledge as late as the past generation, after the relationship between the two occupa-

tions, medicine and dentistry, had become relatively crystallized, i.e., the physicians considered the dentists not to be worth incorporation because of their low ethical standards and their merely artisan skills.

By contrast, though individual librarians have been learned, and librarians in general are as dedicated to knowledge as they are committed to service, the public is not convinced that there is a basic science of librarianship: the skill is thought to be only clerical or administrative. The university librarian's most significant reference group is the university professor, who believes his mastery of his own field is superior to that of the librarian, as is his knowledge of related areas. Nor does the average professor have the experience of being saved from a serious difficulty by the scientific knowledge of the librarian.[19] Moreover, there has been little research and thus little accumulation of knowledge relative to the central professional task of librarianship, the organization and codification of library materials and the development of principles concerning the retrieval of that information.

The school teacher (especially in the primary schools) has a similar relationship to her knowledge base, which is not so much the curriculum content—most adults believe that they could master that after a short period of study—but the technique and principles of pedagogy. This content is, however, relatively small in amount and shallow intellectually. More important, because the crucial matter here is the interaction of public and occupation, even in the area of teaching techniques the teacher is not thought to be a final arbiter. Most college-educated Americans believe they understand such techniques about as well as the average teacher. Nor does it seem likely that the body of pedagogic knowledge that is the teacher's area of prime responsibility will grow much over the next generation.

Nevertheless, perhaps all occupations depend on general natural principles, and these can be discovered. Consequently, one can speculate that every occupation may claim that to understand his task fully, the recruit must study all of the relevant general knowledge. Claiming such a deeper knowledge base, any occupation could then demand a higher prestige ranking. For example, the electrician would have to be an electrical engineer, learning the most advanced physical principles of electricity. It is at least true that as new knowledge accumulates, the occupation may have to change its training practices somewhat. The captain of a modern passenger liner and the international airlines pilot must engage in the formal study of general scientific knowledge as well as learn their practical applications.

The crucial point seems to be the claim of the occupation to the most highly developed body of knowledge in the relevant field, i.e., who is in possession of that body of knowledge. In medicine, it is the physicians themselves, together with men working in the basic biological sciences; in law, it is the lawyers themselves and law professors who are working on the analyses of cases; in engineering, it is the engineers themselves, together with men working in the basic physical sciences. By contrast, even the skilled worker in the occupations of electrician, plumber, TV repairman, and so on have no immediate contact with the sources of their knowledge, or those who develop it, nor has the ship's captain or the airline pilot. The society, in effect, gives the authority of knowledge to the professions as the centers of knowledge from which the knowledge used by subordinate occupations will flow.

A further complexity in this relationship to knowledge may be brought out. Granted that one need not be a sanitary engineer in order to do plumbing or an electrical engineer in order to wire a house, this additional knowledge would certainly not at all be a handicap. If all waiters had to obtain advanced research training in social science and the organic chemistry of foods, they would not on that account do a less adequate job. Against this possibility, however, is the unwillingness of the society to invest great sums in either the development of such formal schools and scientific knowledge, or to pay the much higher incomes that would be necessary to balance the added cost of that investment.

This judgment as to the worth of developing an extensive body of scientific knowledge applies to most occupations. Conceivably, extensive research could be devoted to the tasks of almost any occupation, so that it would be both the master of a body of abstract principles and the source from which additional knowledge would come. Ultimately such research and accumulation depend, however, upon how much support the society is willing to give for the additional knowledge, and how much it will pay for services with such a base.

The key element in this continuing set of decisions is whether the society believes it suffers great costs because members of an occupation do not have sufficient knowledge. Greater investments in research and training will be made only if people feel that important negative consequences follow from the lack of a great knowledge base in the work of, say, typists, nurses, chauffeurs, or teachers. Doubtless, too, potentially positive consequences will count. If the society will not support such an accumulation, the occupation will not become the master of such a highly developed body of

principles as is necessary for acceptance as a profession.

Management, whether in school administration, business and manufacturing, or philanthropy, is especially interesting in this context because a considerable body of scientific knowledge can be organized that would be applicable to its problems. Because corporations do calculate costs and even pay for research, many studies have actually aimed at discovering general principles of management, most of them in sociology or psychology.[20] However, not only the society, but managers themselves, believe that success or failure is not dependent on having been trained in these principles and that a good manager can be an intuitive master without knowing them at all.

The medical occupations illustrate a related principle, that it is the profession which is to be the *judge* of valid knowledge. The case is interesting because medicine deals with problems that are of great concern to everyone, so that precision of control, however expensive, is thought never to be sufficient. As a consequence, the society is willing to pour large amounts of personnel and money into research. However, this added knowledge becomes a base only for new specialties within the medical profession, not for independent medical professions in anesthesiology, pathology,[21] pharmacy, nursing or midwifery. The physician remains the judge of valid knowledge and the added data for greater precision are put into his hands, not those of the nurse or pharmacist. The latter two retain a watchdog function, but the society judges their knowledge and their right of judgment to be ancillary.

As any profession accumulates knowledge, perhaps a larger part of its knowledge comes to be developed by men essentially outside the profession, i.e., by specialists in the subsciences.[22] At the same time, more practitioners *within* the profession become researchers as well.

Power relations also determine which occupations develop and control the knowledge base. A sufficiently large clientele will hire quacks to permit them to continue existence if laws are not enforced, and correspondingly, some individuals will give money to quacks to "develop their knowledge." Especially in the realms of health and mental disease, almost any kind of research program can obtain *some* support. The established profession, however, retains control over the crucial junctures at which knowledge is transmitted to the next generation or required in examinations. As a consequence, the "knowledge" developed by such aberrant research activities is likely to have a relatively short life. . .

Notes

1. Here, I am using what I consider the major control systems in social action (power, money, prestige, and friendship–civility) without further theoretical elaboration. A forthcoming monograph will analyze their operations. Here, I am omitting a fifth control system, qualitatively different, that of information–expertise. However, in the present paper, I am not using these terms in any esoteric senses that require conceptual explication.

2. For one version of this view, see W. J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," in *American Sociological Review*, 25 (August, 1960), 483–96. As I understand Homans and Blau, both seem to believe that values and norms are created within such transactions among individuals. In my view, the fact that pre-existing evaluations determine the worth of what is exchanged is crucial to an analysis of exchanges. See George C. Homans, *Social Behavior* (New York: Harcourt, 1961); and Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power* (New York: Wiley, 1964).

3. Vernon K. Dibble (in "Occupations and Ideologies," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 67 [September, 1962], 229–41) argues that a high ranking occupation can more easily persuade others that its ideology is acceptable.

4. At a minimum, a substantial percentage of the men in high places came from modest origins, though of course if a society is composed *mainly* of peasants, it is not numerically possible for a high percentage of that stratum to rise to the top. For comparative figures, see Robert M. Marsh, *The Mandarins* (New York: Free Press, 1961), and W. J. Goode, "Family and Mobility," in *Class, Status, and Power*, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (New York: Free Press, 1966), pp. 582–601.

5. "There are some very agreeable and beautiful talents . . . of which the exercise for the sake of gain is considered . . . as a sort of public prostitution. . . . The exorbitant rewards of players, opera-singers, opera-dancers, etc. are founded upon those two principles; the rarity and beauty of the talents and the discredit of employing them in this manner." Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), p. 107.

6. It is likely that Twain was a victim of the usual exaggeration of occupational prestige among practitioners. He was proud of his skill. It is unlikely that pilots were generally ranked among the upper class of the Old South, which included large plantation owners, great merchants or factors, and successful professionals. See Wilbert E. Moore and Robin M. Williams, "Stratification in the Anti-Bellum South," in *American Sociological Review*, 7 (June, 1942), 343–51.

7. Although A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson do not use this concept, their historical inquiry into a wide range of aspiring occupations, *The Professions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), clearly aims at establishing such a sequence. T. A. Caplow presents a sequence of four steps in *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1954), pp. 139–40.

8. These are presented in Harold Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" in *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (September, 1964), 142–46.

9. Carr-Saunders and Wilson (*op. cit.*, pp. 284–318) summarize them, but also use them throughout their historical descriptions. William J. Goode, Robert K. Merton, and Mary Jean Huntington, in *The Professions in Modern Society* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956, mimeo), Chapter 1, present a tabulation from many sources. Ernest Greenwood, in "The Attributes of a Profession," in *Social Work*, 2 (July, 1957), 44–55, presents such a list. Similar statements will be found in Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," in *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), 194–200; and Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine," in *American Sociological Review*, 25 (December, 1960), 903–4.

10. See Goode, "Encroachment . . . ," pp. 903–4, and Wilensky, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

11. For the reciprocal process by which a monopoly over a valued service supports the standing of an occupation in the prestige market, see Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–37.

12. Perhaps it should be emphasized that we are referring to the social worker, who has undergone professional training which culminates in the M.S.W. or the doctorate in social work. By contrast, the welfare or case worker in urban departments of welfare is much less likely to have been trained in a formal curriculum, and of course does not fall into this category.

13. I have analyzed this case more extensively in "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" in *The Library Quarterly*, 31 (October, 1961), 306–20.

14. In these analyses, I am largely omitting the manipulations within power markets. I view them as ultimately important, but largely derivative. A professionalizing occupation is more likely to gain power through its success on the prestige and economic markets, rather than the reverse.

15. For the interaction of autonomy, discipline, and knowledge, see W. J. Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession," pp. 910–14, where references are made to various attempts to measure the usefulness of psychotherapy.

16. In these rebuttals we are concerned only with the relation of the occupation to the highest levels of relevant knowledge. A different kind of refutation is that in many instances no medicine is still worse than bad medicine. Therefore, the less trained person should not be allowed to practice independently.

17. Separate from the *amount* of knowledge an occupation needs to learn is its abstractness, as Amitai Etzioni has reminded me, although this problem does not often figure in arguments about professional standing. Even when many concrete facts are missing in a problem, command over an abstract framework may yield productive (if tentative) solutions; at a minimum, it suggests ways of deducing which facts are important, and how to get them.

18. Goode, "The Librarian . . . ."

19. See the extended analysis of these points in William J. Goode, "The Librarian . . . ," pp. 311ff., as well as Arthur M. McNally, "The Dynamics of Securing Academic Status," in Robert B. Downs, *The Status of American College and University Librarians*, ACRL Monograph No. 22 (Chicago: American Library Association, 1958), p. 3.

20. See, for example, *The Handbook of Organizations*, ed. James G. March (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1965).

21. Note, however, the threat of independence in this area. See Harry P. Smith, "Clinical Pathology: Its Creators and Its Practitioners," in *American Journal of Clinical Pathology*, 31 (April, 1959), 283–92, and *Preliminary Report of the Committee on Professional Qualifications for the Practice of Laboratory Medicine* (College of American Pathologists; August, 1959).

22. Thus, very likely most basic medical research is done by biochemists, physiologists, and even physicists, but a far higher proportion of physicians are also engaged in research than were so engaged in 1900 or 1850.

Source: W. J. Goode, 'The theoretical limits of professionalization', in A. Etzioni (ed.), *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers*, Free Press, New York, 1969, pp. 266–89, 308–11

4 Maintenance and occupational control: the case of professions

J. Child and J. Fulk

The concept of occupational control refers to the collective capability of members of an occupation to preserve unique authority in the definition, conduct, and evaluation of their work and also to determine the conditions of entry to and exit from practice within occupational parameters. It thus contrasts markedly with the alternative principle of organizational control. In the latter, occupational identity and practice are fragmented into organizationally defined jobs, and performance is evaluated by a management cadre which also controls the process of selection into and removal from employment. The possession of occupational control implies a more favorable labor market position for members and hence a greater likelihood of securing substantial financial reward.

This article examines contemporary conditions relevant to the maintenance of occupational control for five professions within the United Kingdom and the United States. The high degree of organization and the advantageous social position secured by professions indicate they have achieved a relatively high level of control. They should therefore provide fruitful illustration of the phenomenon. Friedson (1977, 1979, 1980) has argued that studies of professions provide an essential source of data relevant to the development of a more systematic and broader comparative occupational analysis. Focus on professions has an additional advantage in that a body of theorizing on these occupations has accummulated over many years. While much of this has the fault of treating professions noncomparatively, as a homogeneous and distinct occupational category, it nonetheless provides important leads for the analysis of control by occupations in general.

An examination of conditions bearing upon occupational control in the professions therefore appears timely. It is additionally beneficial if it is able to indicate differences as well

as similarities in the maintenance of occupational control across professions in terms which have the potential for extension to the analysis of other occupations. Recent theoretical contributions—such as Jamous and Pelloille (1970) on the status of professional knowledge and Larson (1977) on professional employment context and relation to capitalist production—have illustrated the possibilities for isolating analytical dimensions of wider relevance through a study of professions. A further stimulus to writing the present article has come from the critical interest that academics, politicians, and members of professions have recently taken in matters of professional conduct and control. A sense that professions were moving into social crisis—noted by sociologists such as Elliott (1972) and Hirschhorn (1979) and shared by many professionals themselves such as McEwen (1974) and Brink (1975)—has generated debate and discussion of considerable substantive interest.

SCOPE AND METHOD OF APPROACH

Much previous writing on professions has been confined to single occupations and countries (e.g., Montagna, 1973, on U.S. accountants or Klegon, 1975, on U.S. lawyers) or has only dealt with a single issue such as governmental sponsorship (e.g., Fielding and Portwood, 1980) or while adopting a more comprehensive perspective has made little reference to empirical information (e.g., Johnson, 1977, 1979).

The scope of the present study extends to five occupations in the United Kingdom and the United States. These are occupations to which the designation "profession" has in the past been applied most frequently and least controversially: (1) accounting (chartered accountancy in the United Kingdom, certified public accounting in the United States); (2) architecture; (3) civil engineering; (4) law (solicitors in the United Kingdom); and (5) medicine. In making this selection, we have not sought to engage in the controversy concerning the boundary of the professional concept. This would be unproductive for any analysis seeking to treat professions as members of the family of occupations. Rather, the advantage of starting with these five occupations lies in their favorable and visible social position.

Collaboration between American and British authors offered possibilities for assessing events and discussion con-

cerning these occupations in both countries. It has been noted that professionalism is a peculiarly "Anglo-Saxon" concept (Johnson, 1972; Fores and Glover, 1978). Just as the idea of "profession" may have involved the invalid imposition of a single ideal type upon a disparate range of occupations, so it was also felt that the validity of a single Anglo-Saxon categorization should be treated with caution and subjected to examination.

Previous sociological writing identifies several conditions which have assisted occupational control by professionals. Older typifications of professions in terms of common traits drew attention to the possession of exclusive control over knowledge, to social approval and official certification of this monopoly, and to client acceptance of professional authority. More recent analyses reject as ideologically colored an explanation for these favorable conditions in terms of an ethic of disinterested service. One variant in current thinking looks upon professionalism as an exercise in upward collective social mobility (Parry and Parry, 1976). Here, the ability of occupational members to organize to gain control over the relevant labor market segment and to engage in lobbying to gain official social approval for that control are seen to be the means whereby professionals secure and maintain superior levels of reward (Friedson, 1977; Gyarmati, 1978). A second variant searches further for an explanation of why professional occupational control is sanctioned. This draws attention to the functions which the professions can be said to perform for appropriation, realization, and reproduction in a capitalist society (Johnson, 1977, 1979). Performance of these different functions entails the location of professionals in different employment contexts, many being heteronomous bureaucracies (Scott, 1965) within which professional control is likely to be limited in ways that are discussed later.

It was implicit in the concept of the "free" professions permeating earlier analyses that the state and its agencies did not concern themselves directly with professional activities. The state was seen to respond, in a relatively passive mode, to pressures to approve the professional association's right to ascertain competence and to govern in the matter of appropriate occupational conduct. However, there is now a growing recognition of the active part the state can play in determining the content and manner of professional practice as employer and in serving as a source of funds both for payment

of professional services and for the training of new recruits to the occupations concerned (cf. Fielding and Portwood, 1980).

Attention is therefore drawn to several areas in which conditions affecting occupational control in professions might usefully be examined. The first area concerns restriction of access to the occupation's knowledge base. The second area is the context of professional employment. The third area involves power and authority in the relation of client and professional. The fourth area concerns the relationships between the profession and agencies of the state in the widest sense, including the judiciary system.

THE OCCUPATIONAL KNOWLEDGE BASE

A monopoly of access to knowledge intrinsic to the performance of tasks is the fundamental basis for occupational control over the conduct of work. If, in addition, that knowledge is applied to outputs which are socially valued, then monopoly of access will also tend to enhance the levels of reward accruing to members of the occupation.

A monopoly of specialized knowledge has been held to characterize professional occupations. Particularly significant to issues of occupational control, however, is the distinction Jamous and Peloille (1970) draw between "technicality" in professional knowledge—the rationalized, systematized, and hence transferable component—and "indetermination"—the tacit, esoteric elements which defy rules and therefore are attributed to special qualities of the practitioner. While the more technical aspects may be direct sources of income, the more indeterminate portions can provide a more enduring basis for maintenance of exclusive control due to their inaccessibility to the uninitiated. This distinction thus obliges those who have claimed that professional work is becoming routinized and subject to definition from outside the occupation and so leading to "proletarianization" (Oppenheimer, 1973)—and that computer technology is dramatically hastening this process (e.g., Haug, 1975, 1977)—to specify more precisely than they have done which elements in the occupational knowledge base are affected. If the effect is largely confined to the technicality aspect, then the foundations of professional control may only be marginally undermined. The most likely consequence would be an increasing labor market

duality between core professionals and ancillary personnel possibly drawn from other occupations.

There have been several developments affecting the knowledge base of the five selected professions in both the United Kingdom and the United States. Standardization and codification of the more routine aspects of occupational technique have been under way in each profession, but the most noted examples are in law. Engel (1977) documents standardization in law along five dimensions: use of automation and computer technology; fee assessment; delegation of lawyers' tasks to lay assistants; use of systems analysis in the performance of legal services; and encroachment by lay persons and lay institutions upon areas of work performed by lawyers. Slayton (1973) discusses the application of computers in law including the potential this has for making available without restriction the same information similarly interpreted. The standardization and systematization of knowledge consequent upon computerization have also been noted for accounting, especially in the United States (Montagna, 1973), for architecture and civil engineering (e.g., Lyons, 1976; Nance, 1977), and for medicine (e.g., Gorry and Barnett, 1968; Greanias, cited in Meyers, 1970; Haug, 1975, 1977; Kellner, 1978).

An increased codification and standardization of the occupational knowledge base clearly has the potential for permitting people outside the occupation to carry out tasks previously reserved to occupational members. For example, computer-based medical diagnostic routines make it possible to take complete medical histories and to perform certain types of physical examination without the presence of a physician. A technician can take over this work from a qualified doctor, just as computer-aided and standardized design techniques can take over functions previously dealt with by a qualified architect. Moreover, the furnishing of codified knowledge to the general public through manuals on divorce, wills, property transfer, medical aid, and so forth has the potential for transferring the conduct of certain activities directly from the occupational member to the client. While these activities may be at some remove from the mystical heart of the occupation's practice, the weakening of occupational monopolies over their provision could involve loss of significant revenues—hence the vigorous and so-far successful fight by lawyers in the United Kingdom to retain a monopoly right over property transfer.

It seems clear that access to the occupational knowledge

base can be affected by standarization and codification and that new technology may enhance the potential for this process. Nevertheless, the implications for occupational control are not as determinate as some commentators suggest, for other considerations must also enter into the analysis. First, to what extent are the more "indeterminate" aspects of occupational knowledge transferred into "technicalities" by codification? Second, is the pace of acquisition of new advanced or otherwise nonroutine occupational knowledge still outstripping the rate at which other parts of the knowledge base are being codified and made available to persons outside the occupation? Should this be the case, then a central core of indeterminate knowledge will be retained exclusively to the occupation, though its ground may shift. The indeterminacy of this core knowledge is always likely to be reinforced by specialized occupational language and procedures which make it difficult for even the well-educated layman to penetrate the knowledge. Third, to what extent do the users of occupational services still look to have the assurance of professional "judgment" accompanying the application of even a technically routine procedure, so that there remains a joint, inseparable demand for the products of both indeterminacy and technicality? If joint demand of this nature persists, then standardization and codification of occupational knowledge will not necessarily permit its translation into market value by outsiders to the profession. Finally, as has already been instanced in the recent success of British lawyers in retaining a legal monopoly over transferring property for a fee (one of the most lucrative areas of legal practice), the members of an occupation may be able to retain a legal monopoly over areas of work which have otherwise become quite within the competence of outsiders.

In short, the following conditions of the occupational knowledge base appear to have salience for how far occupational control will be maintained:

(1) the balance between indetermination and technicality in the occupation's work activities
(2) the rate at which the aspect of indeterminacy is being sustained by the production of new, esoteric, and noncodified knowledge or technique
(3) the rate at which the aspect of technicality is being increased by standardization and codification, perhaps hastened by new computer-based facilities

(4) the extent to which joint demand persists, of a form which inhibits clients or customers from accepting products or services from persons outside the occupation
(5) the degree to which the occupation is able to secure legal prohibition of nonmembers from applying codified knowledge and techniques.

THE EMPLOYMENT CONTEXT

The traditional stereotype of professional work conducted in private practices by individuals or small partnerships does not, in fact, apply overwhelmingly to our five selected occupations in either country, with the major exception of lawyers. Many professionals are now employed in large organizations. Considerable numbers of accountants are employed by business corporations. In the United Kingdom, government has become a major employer of other professionals: Many architects and

TABLE 1
The Employment Context of the Five Professions

	Percent in Private Practice	Main Employment Other Than Private Practice
	Britain	
Accountancy	24 (1978)[a]	Business organizations (41%)
Architecture	27 (1878)[a]	Local and central government (46%)
Civil Engineering	16 (1977)[b]	Local authorities and other public sector (52%)
Law	86 (1977)[a]	Local authorities, business organizations
Medicine	35 (1976)[a]	National Health Service hospitals (48%)
	United States	
Accounting	58 (1978)[a,c]	Private industry (36%), education (3%), government (3%)
Architecture	d, e	
Civil Engineering	d	
Law	73 (1970)[a]	Local authorities, business organizations
Medicine	52 (1975)[f]	Training (13%), federal government (7%), hospital staff (5%)

a. Source: correspondence with professional associations.
b. Source: New Civil Engineer, February 24, 1977: 47.
c. Practice of public accounting.
d. Not available.
e. At least one-third work directly or indirectly for government agencies (Lipman, 1966).
f. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1977: 101.

civil engineers are employed by local government, while more doctors are employed in National Health Service (NHS) hospitals than in private practice. In the United States, there appears to be proportionately less employment by government, although this has been increasing (Mosher and Stillman, 1978). Table 1 provides some comparative statistics.

Larson (1977: Table 3) has distinguished the probable concomitants of different types of professional employment context. Compared with solo practice, employment in group practices or in professional "firms" (such as accounting and law firms, architectural and engineering offices) tends to increase hierarchical differentiation between members of an occupation and encourage the application of rules governing the conduct of their work. Nevertheless, these remain professional hierarchies which provide advancement opportunities within the occupation, and the rules are devised by members of the occupation.

Many professionals work in heteronomous organizations over which they do not exercise strategic control and within which they are, to some degree, constrained by an administrative framework established by staff outside the occupation (Scott, 1965). In public service heteronomous organizations, such as hospitals where medical professionals preserve a direct consulting relationship with clients, separate professional hierarchies are usually maintained and work rules tend to be interdependent with, rather than subordinated to, the procedures of extra-professional bureaucracy.

In other heteronomous organizations, such as business organizations, contact with the ultimate client is likely to be mediated by individuals in other functional areas of the organization, and work activities are directed toward servicing goals established by management. Career progression within the organization tends to depend upon meeting these goals and may also involve an eventual move into management itself. Not only is the conduct of professional work in these situations subject in large measure to managerial evaluation but also management exercises substantial control over professional staffing levels and remuneration. Professionals such as accountants who provide services for different levels of management are likely to become vertically differentiated, the more so that the accounting function is "decentralized" and attached directly to line management roles (cf. Hopper, 1978). Nevertheless, several studies present evidence that many profession-

als may not experience difficulty in accepting managerial goals and control systems and that their career aspirations may encompass a future move into management (Schriesheim et al., 1977). In addition, the dual orientations toward management and profession generated by such management may tend to facilitate incorporation of professional goals and prerogatives within the managerial framework.

Comparison of these different employment contexts, each of which can be found to varying degrees within the five focal occupations, suggests that the potential for occupational control can be affected in several ways. First, in heteronomous organizations the definition of work objectives and evaluation criteria may no longer be in the sole control of occupational members, especially when their role is one of service to management.

Second, the employment context is associated with the form of job advancement and the basis for income determination. In solo practice and other types of self-employment, job advancement and income progression depend on a direct relationship with the market. With organizational employment, job advancement becomes defined by bureaucratic grading, and income progression is subject to schemes administered within internal labor markets. This can provide additional security for the individual (Elliott, 1972), but at the price of greater dependence upon the employing organization and conformity to managerial rules. Dependence on the internal labor market is likely to increase with maturity of years and length of tenure in one employment, since both tend to reduce a person's external market value and ability to advance via interorganizational mobility. This illustrates how a bureaucratic form of control over work changes the labor market position of occupational members, a point which Edwards (1979) has developed more extensively.

Third, location of employment in larger organizations may generate substantial vertical differentiation among occupational members (e.g., Siegel, 1977, on accounting). This tends to go hand in hand with a routinization of work at the lower levels. Thus the autonomy of the senior accountant in a business corporation and the judgmental component (an element of indeterminacy) in his/her work are considerably greater than those of accounts at the bottom of the hierarchy who are usually involved in routine bookkeeping (Lengerman, 1969). Indeed, with the exception of senior financial officers

whose role is to provide advice on strategic matters such as investment allocation and the raising of funds, the previously distinctive role of accounts in business organizations is today becoming diffused and subsumed within the growth of management information systems in general. Financial knowledge now circulates widely among managers rather than remaining in the confines of the specialist accountant. Johnson (1979) accounts for this attenuation within accounting by reference to the different functions of facilitating appropriation and realization which the contrasting levels of accountant are seen to perform under capitalism. In general, the routinization of lower-level work in occupations makes it more accessible to external control, makes it more open to replacement by technology, and cheapens its labor price.

Finally, where members of an occupation are employed in state public service organizations, as with most U.K. hospitals, the conditions of their work and remuneration can become subject to political priorities which are imposed through their employing bureaucracy. In U.K. medicine this has been evident with respect to the proportion of private work permitted in hospitals and also in direct disputes with government over income levels.

The variation in employment contexts indicates the futility of generalizing about the "effects" on occupational control of bureaucratization per se. Much depends on (1) the access which members of an occupation have to the direction of bureaucratic organizations; (2) the proportion of employment opportunities in the occupation which are in organizations, especially heteronomous ones, rather than in private practice; (3) the extent of hierarchical differentiation within the occupation which is generated by employment contexts and the threat this may pose to the position of members at lower levels of work; and (4) the extent to which additional constraints are imposed upon those members of the occupation employed in public organizations through the imposition of political criteria.

POWER AND AUTHORITY IN CLIENT-PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

There has been considerable discussion on how professional control may have been reduced by what Haug and Sussman

(1969) called "the revolt of the client" and by consumerism in general. It is again apparent, however, that the phenomenon has not affected the five selected professions equally, and the reasons for this may point to interoccupational distinctions of wider analytical relevance.

STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS

During the 1970s, public criticism was most frequently directed at law and medicine, with attendant appeals for governmental or juridical intervention in the client-professional relationship. These are the two professions, from the five, which offer services most directly impinging on personal well-being. Their clients are primarily members of the general public as opposed to corporations or government authorities having the additional power of organization and considerable financial resources. Moreover, law and medicine tend to provide services based upon the authority of expertise, keeping knowledge at arm's length from clients, as opposed to "people working" professionals like social workers who share knowledge in working with and through clients (Bennett and Hokenstad, 1973). At the same time, the ease with which nonprofessionals can be substituted is relatively low in hospital-based medicine and in many areas of law, so that this distancing between professional and client can be reinforced by relatively high dependence of the latter upon the professional's services.

Accounting, architecture, and civil engineering, on the other hand, mainly serve corporate or governmental organizations rather than individuals. Their clients, as employers, may even impose upon these professionals an administrative framework for the conduct and evaluation of work and for personal advancement. In some areas of accounting and architecture it is also possible to substitute nonprofessional employment. It is not surprising, therefore, that client protest has been less apparent in the case of these professions. (Indeed, the criticisms that have been made, particularly of accounting, are chiefly directed toward protecting the general public interest against the collusion of professionals with their immediate clients, namely, the corporate managers who employ their services.)

It is suggested, then, that there are substantial differences

between professions in relations with clients with respect to (1) client organization; (2) arm's-length application of expertise; (3) substitutability for professional services; and (4) the impact of services upon personal welfare. These conditions generate two propositions which may apply to other occupations as well. Proposition one is that the less organized a client group is, the greater the professional's power is likely to be vis-à-vis the client. However, a marked asymmetry of power between professional and client furnishes an incentive for countervailing action by the latter, perhaps by attempts to organize to improve their bargaining position. This may be hastened by a client consciousness generated by the aggregation of clients in bureaucratic organizations (Reeder, 1972). Proposition two is that the greater the direct impact these services have on individual personal welfare, the better the chance clients have of engaging judicial or governmental support for countervailing action. The motivation of clients to take such action is also likely to be reinforced by longer-term social trends such as improving education.

CLIENT POWER IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Both direct client challenge and general public censure of professionals have been evident in recent years. These have reflected skepticism about professional competence and about the pursuit of private rather than public interest. One form of direct client challenge has been reported by both American and British physicians, namely, that patients are growing more knowledgeable, demanding more explanations, and are generally less willing to accept the doctor's authority (Haug, 1976). More dramatic has been the resort to court actions against professionals, especially in the United States. Some of these actions have asserted client rights in the professional work process. An example is the court decision in the United States in favor of a patient who demanded to be informed prior to surgery that a student surgeon was scheduled to perform the operation instead of the surgeon-of-record. This decision, which gave the patient the right to complete information and thus the right to refuse student surgeons, was contrary to previous practices and suggested a more informed and less dependent role for the patient. It was part of what Rensberger (1978) has called the "new consumerism" in American medicine.

Other litigation has been on grounds of professional malpractice. Malpractice suits against doctors in the United States increased "in almost geometric proportion" (Zaslow, 1976: 8AA). Fulk (1977) estimated that as of October 1977, around 200 lawsuits were pending against American accountants over matters such as the accuracy of financial statements and the valuation of inventories; 15 years previously there had been virtually no such litigation. Architects in the United States have been subject to more litigation, with jury awards against them rising (*American Institute of Architects Journal,* July 1975: 18). Exposure to professional liability for errors and omissions also rose for civil engineers (Poppino, 1978) and lawyers (Zaslow, 1976) in the United States. The use of litigation against professionals has been less marked in the United Kingdom though increases are reported for accountants (*Accountancy Age,* July 8, 1977), architects (*Royal Institute of British Architects Journal,* April 1976), and lawyers (solicitors) who since 1976 have been compelled by their professional association to take out indemnity insurance. As well as representing an enhancement of client control over the conduct of professional work, malpractice litigation cuts into the net remuneration available to members of an occupation because of the additional costs of protective insurance it imposes.

Direct action by clients against professionals has been accompanied by a degree of general public censure that has undoubtedly encouraged the official actions taken against some professions (these are described in the following section). Much of this censure has been directed against market behavior which enhances the private economic interests of occupational members at the expense of disinterestedness and quality of services to clients. For example, both American and British doctors have been accused of effectively being co-opted by drug companies (Hirsch, 1975; *Sunday Times,* January 29, 1978). Accountants in the United Kingdom have been accused of placing themselves in conflict-of-interest positions by beneficially holding shares in companies they are auditing (*The Times,* August 25, 1977), while criticism of the U.S. accounting profession led to a congressional investigation (the Metcalf Committee). Lawyers in both countries have been publicly attacked for practices such as plea bargaining and for allegedly sacrificing professional standards to increased income (cf. *The Times,* October 17, 1977). British architecture has been

accused of sacrificing design standards to the interests of property speculation (e.g., McEwen, 1974), while in the United States there have been demands for consumer protection against the improper practice of civil engineering (Nance, 1977).

These illustrations are far from complete, but they are sufficient to indicate that client action is a factor to be considered in the analysis of occupational control over the conduct of work. Marshall (1939) noted that professional power derives in part from the client's submissiveness to the preeminent authority of the professional. He saw this submissiveness arising out of the client's ignorance relative to the professional's expertise and out of feelings of trust and dependency on the part of the client. Explanations for the apparent decline in client submissiveness have made reference to the effect of improved education in raising client knowledge (Haug, 1976); the effect of the mass media in familiarizing and demystifying professional people, especially doctors and lawyers (Myerhoff and Larson, 1965); and the effect of bureaucratization and standardization of programs (as in Health Maintenance Organizations) which reduce personal contact and trust in the professional and which also engender shared perspectives among clients (Reeder, 1972). Where bureaucratization is of a form that incorporates the professional as an employee within a nonprofessional heteronomous organization, "client" control may be substantial.

ALTERNATIVES TO PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

It was also suggested that the ease with which clients or customers could find alternative service providers would tend to increase client power. One alternative for clients is self-service. The codification and standardization of some professional knowledge in areas like divorce law and routine medical treatment have encouraged "do-it-yourself" action by clients with the aid of newly developed manuals (e.g., Williams and Black, 1972) and information provided by the mass media, particularly television. As yet, however, this trend is not strong. Second, extraoccupational members have encroached upon domains once considered to be solely controlled by the occupation. For example, in both the United Kingdom and United States, wills and trusts are now prepared by estate and trust departments in banks as well as by attorneys. Banks also

provide some accounting services. Quantity surveyors, estate valuers, and design-build contractors carry out some architectural functions. Within the realm of the physician and civil engineer, there has been less by way of encroachment than an agreed process of delegation down to less highly trained staff who remain subject to the professionals' prescriptions.

The ease with which clients may obtain alternative services was noted earlier to be a function of several conditions, including the codification of knowledge, legal prohibitions against lay practice, client education/skill levels (for self-provision), and probably in general to client industriousness in seeking out alternative service providers.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROFESSIONS AND AGENCIES OF THE STATE

The state is defined here as the total domain of official public action rather than as government in the narrower sense. Its agencies therefore include government departments and their subsidiary offshoots, commissions and review bodies established by government, and the judicial system. Such agencies can have direct bearing upon professional control through legislation, court decisions, the threat of government action contained in critical findings by public commissions, and by having professionals in their employment. They may also have an indirect effect through the funding of professional training and of public schemes which generate a demand for professional services. The role played by agencies of the state in recent years is particularly apparent in four areas: (1) interventions over standards of work; (2) interventions over marketplace controls; (3) public employment of professionals; and (4) effects on the supply of new recruits to the professional labor market through the public funding of training programs.

STANDARDS OF WORK

Until recently, governments in both the United Kingdom and United States tended to restrict intervention over standards of professional work to requirements for certification. This has now changed, stimulated at least in part by the client and public criticism described earlier. Professional practice has been subject to scrutiny by governmental commissions, and

there has been active intervention intended to raise standards of practice. The most notable examples of this development have taken place in accounting, law, and medicine.

In the United States, the accounting profession has been investigated by subcommittees from both houses of Congress (the Cohen, Metcalf, and Moss committees), by the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Justice Department, and the Internal Revenue Service. This followed an increase in lawsuits against accountants, demands for better accounting and disclosure as a result of business failures in the 1960s, the need for more useful and comparable information from critical industries such as oil for the purpose of establishing national energy and other policies, and revelations regarding undisclosed improper political contributions, illegal bridges, and off-book slush funds for companies audited by certified public accountants (Olson, 1978). In the United Kingdom, Board of Trade Inspectors have severely criticized the conduct of accountants and auditors (*Financial Times*, October 26, 1977) and there have been proposals to establish an alternative state auditing service (cf. *The Accountant*, April 21, 1977). In both countries, these actions of public agencies have generated moves toward more stringent regulation of conduct by the professional bodies themselves which have been seen as necessary to avoid direct governmental intervention (e.g., the Institute of Chartered Accountants of England and Wales President, quoted in *The Accountant*, February 1, 1979).

Some state action has also been directed at the conduct of legal work. In the United States, the Tunney subcommittee and a variety of state legislative bodies investigated the delivery of legal services; as a result some legislation has been proposed and enacted to regulate lawyers (Brink, 1975). In the United Kingdom a Royal Commission on Legal Services was established largely due to criticism of professional conduct. Its report, however, recommended no fundamental changes and is likely to generate little or no official action. In medicine, action by state agencies has been quite marked in the United States. For example, government is directly involved in setting standards of competency for medical personnel participating in publicly financed health programs. Mandatory peer review procedures have been implemented in the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has issued final regulations

to protect subjects of biomedical research; 1972 revisions to the Social Security Act created Professional Standards Review Organizations to monitor hospital-related physician activities financed by Medicare or Medicaid; and the Public Health Service Act of 1974 created localized Health Systems Agencies to monitor health services. State government programs, such as New York State's "on-site program" for keeping an eye on Medicaid services, also monitor health care services. In general, as financiers of an increasing number of health services in the United States, governments at the federal and state level are demanding and receiving a greater say in the quality of services provided. In the United Kingdom, government is already the main health service funder and has exercised a degree of control over medical work through imposing cost constraints. In addition, a Royal Commission on Medical Education has attempted to specify the technical competencies required of doctors (Atkinson et al., 1977) and in 1978 the Department of Health proposed to strengthen the rights of patients complaining against their doctors, including the granting of access to case notes (*The Times*, November 21, 1978). These moves, as yet, have had little effect.

Although alarm at the prospect of direct governmental control over practice standards has periodically been raised by professionals (e.g., Solomons, 1978), the impact of heightened activity by state agencies typically has been to encourage more effective self-regulation by the occupations' own associations. Thus, the result of governmental pressures on American accounting has been to stimulate changes within the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants. In the United Kingdom, the establishment of accounting standards has been left to the Accounting Standards Committee, a body controlled by the main English institute. In the medical field, one effect of the Royal Commission on Medical Education's actions to try to set technical competencies for physicians (and the resulting outcry from the medical profession) was to arrive at an *explicit* statement that the profession itself was solely responsible for determining such standards. Even recent American state legislation like Iowa's, which makes continuing professional competence certification mandatory, leaves it in the hands of individual occupational licensing boards to determine how this should be carried out. Despite public criticism and the greater attention which state agencies have given to the conduct of professional work in both American

and Britian, the conclusion Freidson (1970: 24) reached some while ago still appears to be valid: "The state uniformly leaves in the hands of the profession control over the technological side of its work."

MARKETPLACE CONTROLS

As Wilson has noted (1977), there has been considerable public criticism of professional fee levels. This sentiment has encouraged state agencies in both countries to initiate action against professional restrictions in the marketplace which might artificially inflate fee levels. In the United Kingdom, moves of this kind have tended to come via investigations of the government's Monopolies Commission and have had limited effect. In the United States, much of the action has been taken through the courts with more apparent effect.

In the United Kindgom, major investigations were conducted the Monopolies Commission into general professional restrictive practices (1970), the services of solicitors (1976) and the services of architects (1977). The Royal Commission on Legal Services reported in 1979. Although professionally determined scale fees for conveyancing were abolished by lawyers in 1973 and, following the 1976 report, some advertising on behalf of the profession as a whole has been undertaken, no significant action regarding mandatory fee levels or individual practitioner advertising in other professions has followed major reports such as these. Indeed, the abolition of scales for conveyancing did not lead to any over-all fall in fees charged. A comment made by *The Observer* (October 7, 1979) following the report of the Royal Commission on Legal Services would seem to apply on the whole to other official moves against marketplace occupational restrictive practices: "Life in the legal world will go on much as before."

In the United States, the antitrust laws have been applied to the professions. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Goldfarb* v. *Virginia State Bar* (1975) struck down a minimum-fee schedule for real estate title examination imposed by a county bar association. This ruling implies that professional associations which forbid competitive activities can no longer invoke the learned profession exception as a shield against attack under the Sherman Act (Ainslie, 1977) because members benefit

economically from association activities (*Wall Street Journal*, November 29, 1978: 10). State and federal governments have successfully challenged professional associations' bans upon the advertising of members' services, through a succession of court actions. These have had an effect on civil engineering (*Wall Street Journal*, November 29, 1978; *Civil Engineering*, July 1978: 78), law (e.g., U.S. Supreme Court 1977 in *Bates* v. *State Bar of Arizona*), and medicine (*Wall Street Journal*, November 29 and 30, 1978). Following the findings of the Metcalf Committee, the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants permitted accountants to advertise their services (*Journal of Accounting*, May 1978); while under the eye of the Justice Department, the American Institute of Architects removed its prohibition against advertising. In general, governmental action has forced American professions to remove many constraints upon competitive advertising, but professional associations may still limit the selection of media and may also prohibit direct solicitation of clients (cf. *Ohralik* v. *Ohio State Bar Association* in Los Angeles *Times*, February 29, 1978). Further examples of action by agencies of the state include antitrust actions against market restrictions on competitive bidding for work by engineers. These actions have tended to increase competition to some degree, although the primary effects in such areas as law appear to be through creating a greater client awareness of alternatives within the profession.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

In the United Kingdom, considerable numbers of professionals are employed in public bureaucracies. The greatest number of complaints about encroachment by employers upon professional goals and work practices have come from architects employed by local government (Malpass, 1975) and from doctors employed in the National Health Service. The struggle between medical professionals and government has been particularly bitter at times, primarily over remuneration and also over other matters such as the permission of private practice (for which higher fees can be charged) in state hospitals. In the United States, tension has arisen over fee levels between physicians and governmental authorities administering publicly supported health and welfare programs at both national and local levels (cf. New York *Times*, January 4,

1978, regarding workmen's compensation programs in New York; *Wall Street Journal*, November 29, 1978, regarding federal programs). It is an unlikely coincidence that the development of negotiating bodies, unionization, and job action among professionals in both countries is most advanced among those employed in state bureaucracies (in which they are subject to the restriction of the internal labor market) and among those heavily dependent upon state-aid schemes for reimbursement of fees incurred by clients enrolled in such programs. While the effects of public employment are most notable (in both countries) in medicine, governments also employ substantial numbers of architects and engineers. In the United States, publicly supported legal-aid schemes can affect fee levels. Few practitioners in public accounting or law are directly employed by governments.

PUBLIC FUNDING AND SUPPLY

The state has exercised indirect control over the professional marketplace through its level of funding. In certain occupations this has facilitated growth in the supply of new entrants, particularly in the United Kinddom where the public funding of higher education is extensive. In the United States, the increase in the use of medical insurance plans during the 1960s led to more demand for professional services and caused governments to respond by a variety of legislation intended to promote more health care services and to foster medical education. This legislation also gave the state new powers to change existing patterns of facilities and services (O'Connor, 1978). It may be noted in this context how, in both countries, concern has been expressed by professions at the oversupply of new recruits which threatens existing employment and fee-earning opportunities—for instance, medicine (Hiller and Schmidt, 1976; Shrank, 1977), architecture (*RIBA Journal*, March 1977), civil engineering (Koepp, 1977; *New Civil Engineer*, June 2, 1977), and law (Wollan, 1978; *Law Society's Gazette*, 74, 1977). Little anxiety about oversupply appears to have been expressed by accountants, though in Britain at least there is heavy demand for publicly funded accounting course places in universities and also evidence that weight of numbers is causing a fall in the level of job that accounting graduates can expect to achieve (University of Aston, 1977).

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that agencies of the

state play a greater role in matters of professional control than is commonly recognized. They are involved in the direct provision of professional employment and in funding schemes that provide further employment and pay for professional training. Also, they have taken action over restrictive practices and standards of professional work. The provision of employment and funding are bases for state influence in occupational matters which are to be found in certain other occupations. The attack on restrictive practices and standards of work is more particular to professional occupations in view of the power and privilege they enjoy within society.

Variations have already been noted in the employment contexts of the five professions considered here. Fielding and Portwood (1980) have pointed out that considerable variation is present even within the sphere of state employment. They argue that it is not enough simply to acknowledge the existence of state heteronomy, but that its form and extent vis-à-vis different professions should be specified. They put forward a typology which contrasts professions dependent (at least in some degree) upon state employment. This incorporates dimensions such as the professional's ability to conduct private practice in normal working hours, dependence on the state for license to practice, for provision of clientele and or workplace, and degree of autonomy over choice of clients and how they are handled. On this basis, doctors working in U.K. state hospitals are likely to enjoy less control in the workplace than are lawyers doing work from a private practice base for the state-funded legal-aid scheme.

A further variation has been apparent between the two countries. Action by state agencies against restrictive practices in the professional labor market has been primarily through official commissions in the United Kingdom and through the courts in the United States. Governmental involvement in the labor market through direct employment of professionals and funding training has been proportionately greater in the United Kingdom. A single "Anglo-Saxon" model of state-professional relations does not appear adequate.

A NOTE ON OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

Bucher and Strauss (1961: 326) have taken the view that professions are "loose amalgamations of segments pursuing

different manners and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history." Both vertical differentiation of status and work level and horizontal differentiation into specialist segments are evident within the professions considered here. Differentiation is associated with conditions in areas already considered—especially occupational knowledge base and employment context—and it is a factor which enhances their consequences for occupational control.

Vertical differentiation may take the form of status differentials within a profession or of transferring routine tasks to groups which are formally outside the profession. The contrast here is in principle, only one of degree, but it is significant in terms of maintaining control over the definition of external occupational boundaries. The ability of occupations to manage vertical differentiation with respect to possible encroachment by less qualified groups upon established boundaries of competence and job rights is an important prerequisite for preserving control in the labor market. This means limiting the extent to which subspecialists from outside the occupation take over tasks which have become routinized and also preserving the right to evaluate the performance of these tasks. For high-status groups within an occupation, it also means limiting the possible encroachment of lower-status groups.

American accounting has formalized vertical differentiation within the profession by segmenting one set of firms whose practice is now limited to clients whose securities are not publicly traded. The case for a two-tier structure has also been argued in the United Kingdom (Allen, 1977), where there is already fragmentation into six professional bodies of different status and function. In both countries, there are now clear patterns of vertical differentiation between lawyers, both in types of practice and within larger practices (cf. Elliott, 1972; Podmore, 1980). Vertical differentiation is also advanced within the medical profession. It has progressed within British architecture encouraged again by the size of some practices and also by the spread of employment within the bureaucratized and heavily hierarchical public sector (Malpass, 1975). These are instances of vertical differentiation *within* the recognized boundaries of professions. It seems likely that they enhance the potential for intraoccupational conflict and so threaten existing patterns of control, but this point remains speculative.

Vertical differentiation also has taken the form of moving

routine tasks *outside* an occupation's recognized boundaries. The process of standardization and computerization can assist this transfer. For example, the standardization of many tasks in civil engineering has enabled a new layer of outside subspecialists, such as computer operators, mathematicians, and engineering technicians, to perform functions which used to be included in the engineer's work (Nance, 1977). Within American and British law practices, standardization has led to an increasing use of paralegal assistants (Engel, 1977; Podmore, 1980). Doctors in the United Kingdom are now delegating some previously restricted tasks to new specialties such as health visitors. Nurse practitioners have set themselves up in the United States, and opinion has been expressed inside and outside the profession in favor of doctors' delegating routine duties to nurses and to the recently created subspecialty of physicians's assistant (e.g., *Newsweek*, December 5, 1977). The use of computer diagnosis, by routinizing the tasks, makes it easier to achieve such delegation.

The activities so far delegated to nonprofessionals do not, on the whole, impinge upon the core of professional knowledge or judgment. Delegation is, indeed, frequently justified in terms of permitting the professional to concentrate on core activities. The type of employment context is relevant here. In professionally controlled organizations like law firms and civil engineering partnerships, or in heteronomous organizations where professionals retain direct responsibility for clients, the work of subspecialist groups is generally directed by prescriptions which the professional makes for, or with, the client (Jaques, 1976). However, it is tempting for the management of a heteronomous organization to sieze upon pressures by nonprofessionals, such as engineering technicians (Kleingartner, 1967), to take over routine professional activities, since this gives management an opportunity both to formulate its own preferred job definitions and to cut labor costs.

Horizontal differentiation into specialized segments is also advanced in accounting, law, and medicine (Siegel, 1977). Siegel concluded from a study of certified public accountants that horizontal differentiation is encouraged by the size and complexity of accounting organizations; it must also reflect the extent to which occupationally relevant knowledge is divided into specialized fields. The implications that horizontal differentiation has for occupational control would appear to depend largely upon employment context. In the external

labor market, it may carry a threat to the market position of the small general practice. In both countries there has been considerable hostility toward larger internally specialized accounting firms on the part of smaller practices whose lack of specialized skills has not enabled them to compete for the most lucrative business. A lawyer in a small firm faces a somewhat comparable threat. However, in the internal labor market of the heteronomous employer, a high degree of specialization within an occupation may pose coordinative problems, the resolution of which can subject occupational members' work to closer managerial definition through devices such as project or matrix management. In addition, specialization may possibly reduce a representation of the occupation's viewpoint in higher management through inhibiting the promotion of occupational members into management for which a more general perspective is sought. Horizontal differentiation, then, limits the boundaries of an individual professional's expertise, reducing the domain over which monopoly control may be exercised (although control over the limited domain may be reinforced). This may increase the demands upon the profession to maintain a unified front in order to retain the same level of control, particularly in the face of potential or actual intraprofession conflict across specialities.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of conditions relating to the maintenance of occupational control in the workplace and marketplace has pointed to both similarities and differences among the five professions. While some of these conditions, such as action by agencies of the state to limit the professions' market power, currently may be singular to professional occupations, it is possible to conceive of each condition as a variable quality which is analytically relevant to a much wider range of occupations. Table 2 summarizes the ground which has been covered.

Attention has been drawn here and in recent analyses to erosion of mystique and exclusiveness in some areas of relevant occupational knowledge through standardization and codification. However, a countervailing condition was noted in that less violable indeterminate knowledge may be monopolized for activities which are based on new discoveries or tacit skills or for which the judgment of a certified expert is still demanded by clients and/or required by law. Our analyses

Table 2
Summary of Conditions Relevant to the Maintenance of Occupational Control

Area	A Occupational Knowledge Base	B Employment Context	C Power and Authority in Relations Between Clients and Occupation Members	D Relationships between Occupations and Agencies of the State
Conditions	1. balance able to be maintained between indetermination and technicality in the occupation's activities	1. degree of heteronomy	1. degree of client organization (individual v. organization)	1. degree of state intervention over standards of work in the occupation
	2. extent to which indeterminate qualities are demanded along side application of technical elements	2. extent to which occupation depends upon employment in organizations (esp. heteronomous ones) over which they do not exert strategic control	2. extent to which expertise is applied at arms length	2. degree of state intervention over market practices
	3. degree to which occupation can secure legal monopoly over application of routinized (technical) elements in knowledge	3. extent to which employment in organizations generates hierarchical differentiation among occupational members	3. availability of substitutes for occupational services	3. extent of state (public) employment of occupational members
		4. extent of state employment (cf. B3)	4. impact of occupation's services/activities on personal welfare	4. extent of state funding of new entrant educations and other relevant programs
			5. degree of "client consciousness" created by bureaucratic employment situations	
			6. client sophistication (education and familiarity)	

indicated that certain of the five professions considered, such as medicine, appear to have more scope for maintaining a substantial core of indetermination than do others, such as civil engineering. Similar analyses which take into account the analytical distinction between indetermination and technicality may be employed for other occupations. As with the five occupations here, such analyses may highlight implications for an occupation's ability to supervise member activities effectively and to maintain a favorable market position by minimizing the ability to substitute other service providers.

Several dimensions of employment context were noted to have implications for an occupation's ability to sustain high levels of occupational control. These factors were found to differentiate among the five professions and can readily be applied to a broader set of occupations. The extent of heteronomy is a particularly significant variable. Employment in heteronomous organizations subjects occupational members to the constraints of the internal labor market and potential fragmenting effects of the expansion of vertical differentiation. Thus, the more an occupation's technique is plied within heteronomous organizations, the more difficult is likely to be (1) the maintenance of a coherent occupational

policy on the conduct and standards of work and (2) the prevention of dilution through the employment of individuals from outside the occupation. Also important is the level of control which occupational members hold over the direction of such organizations and of occupational activities within them in that control of and within organizations may counterbalance the threats to control generated by heteronomy. Employment in state bureaucracies, which has been increasing for the five professions in both countries, may directly subject occupational members to the brunt of specifically political policies, as happened in U.K. medicine over incomes policy and the right to preserve private practice. This latter dimension is particularly salient for the whole occupational family as the proportion of public employment continues to expand.

Bureaucratic organization is also pertinent to concerns in client/practitioner relations since such organization may create shared perspectives among clients serviced within them and thus form the basis for organized client action to share control. In general, lack of client organization may tend to enhance occupational control in the client relationship, especially when there are few alternative-service providers available. Client action which does arise in personal service professions which maintain distance between client and practitioner tends to be through appeals to the state. These dimensions were shown to particularly differentiate law and medicine from the remaining three professions and appear also to be applicable to the broader occupational structure.

Action by the state was noted in particular to apply to interventions over market variables and standards of practice. This factor may be more peculiar to occupations with well-established historical precedents of occupational control. A high level of prolonged and exclusive occupational control provides circumstances in which restrictive practices or abuse of self-regulation in practice standards can develop and which inhibit the successful subversion of such extant practices except by strong social powers such as the state. Thus, the resort by clients and customers to the courts or to pressure for state agencies to take action against malpractice, denial of rights to information, and so forth is likely to enter more markedly into the arena of control in the established professions than in occupations in general. More relevant to occupations in general is state control as employer and as funding agent for programs from which occupational members derive significant revenues

and for which the state may impose requirements generated by the state bureaucracy. Variations in these areas were noted among the five professions and across the two countries and are probably important within the broader occupational structure as the role of the state is augmented in both countries.

It is clear from even the brief comparison possible in this article that the same conditions of control do not apply to different occupations, not even to those like the present five professions which can be said to have reached a comparable degree of maturity in terms of organization, official recognition, and other features identified by writers such as Wilensky (1964). Thus, some depend primarily upon sponsorship by business and some by the state. Others, like law, operate primarily on their own account. Some are developing new, highly advanced knowledge at a fast rate, such as medicine, while others such as accounting are not. Certain of the five professions concern themselves with the relatively dependent individual client while others' clients are themselves rather influential and sophisticated collectivities (e.g., in accounting). The professions differ in the degree to which their services are directly concerned with individual well-being or with the welfare of the general public, each of which tends to direct countervailing actions to different spheres of state activity. The great merit of employing a comparative framework, however rudimentary, is that it permits empirical information to open up our conceptual perspective of occupations beyond the confines of ideal typification or the postulation of universalistic paths of occupational development.

Comparison, too, between the two countries indicates that the unitary "Anglo-Saxon" model of professions hardly passes the test of validity. One important contrast is that control over professionals in private practice has been achieved more often through the courts in the United States, while in the United Kingdom relatively more reliance has been placed on investigatory commissions. Another is that in the United Kingdom, professionals have become more closely tied to the bureaucracy of what might be called a welfare social democracy. Most notable is the nationalized health service. In the United Kingdom there is also a heavy employment of architects by local government authorities, while a majority of civil engineers now work in the public sector. Lawyers are involved in the state legal-aid scheme and increasing numbers have come to be employed in central and local government. Accountancy

is the apparent exception, though even here proposals have been made for a state auditing service. Thus while we have no evidence to permit the conclusion that professional occupations are generally subject to more state control in the United Kingdom, it is possible to say that the chosen mechanisms for state and public control in the two countries tend to differ.

This article has taken occupational control as its focus. In drawing out conditions which may contribute to a general framework of comparative occupational analysis, it has implied that control is central to that analysis. There are, in fact, several considerations which support this opinion. First, control has always been central to the occupational principle and hence to occupational identity, organization, and market behavior. As Watson (1980: 147) has put it: "The history of western occupations has been very much one of the rise and fall of the degree of occupational self-control maintained by various groups." Second, attention to occupational control enables one to employ the same conceptual language as in the analysis of the management of work which is central to an understanding of how large organizational units have developed in modern society. Edwards (1979), for example, categorizes the modes of control employed in the management of work in the business enterprises, and it is possible to compare these alongside the principle of occupational control (or "self-control" as Watson calls it). The advantage of this conjunction is that it enables us to address within a single frame of analysis one of the central issues in the sociology of work, namely, the relation (in its fullest sense) between the occupational principle of work organization and the managerial or administrative principle of work organization. Even the most preliminary consideration of the points advanced in this article, taken in conjunction with Edward's typology, immediately indicates that the so-called problematic of the professional and the organization is far more complex than has often been realized. For example, one relevant dimension is the extent of occupational control over organizational policies and over the administration of members' work. Another dimension derives from Edward's distinction between "bureaucratic" and other modes of workplace control, in that the former incorporates occupational specialists, including accountants, into the control apparatus and co-opts them to an "organizational" perspective.

Third, compared to analyses in terms of variables such as

value systems which treated the "professions" as a separate social category, a focus on control draws attention to an issue which is germane to every occupation. Indeed, it might be said that a condition for occupation, as opposed to mere jobs, to exist in any meaningful sense is that membership of a recognized collectivity in the labor market affords certain rights in the performance of jobs that have a basis outside of what an employer might offer. The presence of values shared between occupational members or of ideology promulgated on their behalf may then be understood not as a discontinuity between occupations but in relation to a common problem, namely, the legitimation and rationalization of occupational control. Moreover, a focus on occupational control highlights an aspect of interdependency between internal and external labor markets. Examination of professions suggests that the ability to maintain occupational control within the internal labor market of organizations is enhanced by the preservation of opportunities to practice privately in the external labor market. Not only does this offer potential employment alternatives but it also sustains the norm of "free" autonomous practice as a point of reference for legitimizing rights of control within organizations.

In short, the analysis developed here has brought together some of the conditions likely to bear upon the maintenance of occupational control. It has not addressed the more underlying question of what forces in societies such as the United Kingdom and the United States generate changes in the conditions for occupational control. Examination of the professions indicates that a high degree of occupational control is accompanied by special privileges and a favorable level of economic reward. A fully developed theory of occupational control will require an understanding of how the conditions for its maintenance come to be defined as either socially acceptable or unacceptable.

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5 Toward a redefinition of professionalism in educational administration

P. F. Silver

These days, most workers regard themselves as professionals. People employed in virtually all occupations, from plumbing and clerical fields to health and legal fields, consider themselves to be professionals. Educational administrators accord to themselves and each other the status of professionals.

The reason so many diversely occupied people can view themselves as professionals is that each group has its own set of criteria for professionalism. Some groups (such as plumbers and realtors) regard the requirement of a license to practice as the *sine qua non* of professionalism. Other groups (such as full-time athletes and artists) regard remuneration for their activities as the criterion of professionalism. Still other groups (such as accountants and engineers) consider their extensive specialized training as their claim to professional status. Educational administrators point to specialized training, license requirements, national associations, technical books and periodicals, and their impact on legislation as evidence of professional status.

While those within an occupational group often perceive themselves to be professionals, persons external to that group might offer a dissenting opinion. In the case of educational administration, for example, those outside the field of education could emphasize the absence of an explicit code of ethics, the lack of a standardized examination as a qualification for the license to practice, and the absence of peer review in maintaining standards of practice to support a claim that educational administration is *not* a profession. Quite clearly, the label of 'professional' is highly desired in contemporary society. Equally clearly, there is a need for some convergence of opinion about the definition of professionalism.

My personal view is that the field of educational administration lacks some of the most important features of professionalism but that advancement to more fully professional practice is both feasible and desirable within this field. In developing this theme I will draw upon some literature on the sociology of occupations to clarify the concept of professionalism and explore the importance of student achievement data as a foundation for professionalism in educational administration. The central focus of this paper, however, is an effort to set forth the dimensions of professionalism in educational administration as they might emerge over time through the combined efforts of researchers and practitioners in this field. The conclusion of the paper is devoted to some concrete suggestions about how individuals can increase their own professionalism in the day to day practice of educational administration.

Some cornerstones of professionalism

Sociologists who study occupations, occupational cultures, and the movement of occupational groups toward professional stature have identified a broad range of

characteristics of those occupations that are widely recognized as professions. In addition to the characteristics mentioned earlier, they have cited confidentiality in the client-professional relationship (Daniels, 1973), autonomy both from clients and from superordinates (Forsyth and Danisiewicz, 1981), a commitment to service for the good of the public (Goode, 1969), and the presence of particular values, norms, and language — i.e., a culture shared by all the practitioners within the field (Ritzer, 1973). The list of attributes of the professions and of professional persons could go on indefinitely, with items both broad and narrow in scope intermingled.

William Goode (1969) offered some coherence to the disparate writings on professionalism by arguing that there are but two elements present in the most prestigious professions that underlie and account for all the other characteristics of those occupations. He called those two essential elements *professional knowledge* and a *service ideal* or "collectivity orientation". According to Goode, *professional knowledge* is: abstract and codified; thought to be applicable to people's concrete problems; believed to be useful in solving concrete problems; created, organized and transmitted by members of the occupational group; and abstruse or difficult to acquire. The *service ideal*, Goode maintained, entails: the practitioner's decisions regarding the client's needs; real sacrifice and risk by practitioners; idealistic aims and practices; and rewards for service to the professional and public communities.

Some thought about the field of educational administration is bound to reveal that this field features some but not all of the elements basic to professionalism. With respect to professional knowledge, scholars who have recently reviewed the literature in educational administration concur in their judgement that this field does not have a coherent, cumulative, or codified body of knowledge either theoretical or technical (Immegart, 1977; Erickson, 1979; Boyan, 1980). Furthermore, neither practitioners nor researchers in this field have agreed on which concrete problems constitute the domain of work (Hills, 1978; Silver, 1981), so the application of knowledge to the solution of a type of human problems is not even conceivable. With reference to the service ideal, we have some shortcomings as well. While many administrators are committed to public service and human welfare, educational administrators as a group have not arrived at clear consensus as to who their clients are; thus they cannot make decisions as to the client's needs. Further, most practitioners in this field do not view their service commitment as extending to the profession in the form of systematic contributions to the advancement of knowledge.

Taking Goode's analysis and other aspects of professionalism discussed by sociologists into consideration, one can readily conceive of professionalism as having three basic dimensions: a cognitive dimension, an affective dimension, and a psychomotor dimension. The cognitive dimension pertains to the codified theoretical and technical knowledge available to practitioners in the professional occupation. The affective dimension encompasses the feelings, beliefs and orientations of the practitioners within the occupation. And the psychomotor dimension refers to the actual actions and behavior predispositions of professional practitioners. A redefinition of professionalism in educational administration would entail some changes in all three dimensions of the field if it is to advance to a more fully professional status. All three dimensions will be considered in greater detail later in this paper. However, first an examination of the importance of student attainment data is in order.

The importance of student attainment data

Several shortcomings of the field of educational administration with respect to professionalism were noted above. A few of these merit reiteration here to underscore

the need for student outcome data. First, neither practitioners nor researchers agree as to precisely what constitutes an administrative problem (that is, a problem faced by human beings to be addressed and resolved by those in the occupation of educational administration). Second, quality of performance is not assessed by one's peers in educational administration; in fact, we do not have criteria for determining success or failure in administrative performance. Third, practitioners in this field do not contribute regularly and systematically to generating and transmitting the knowledge (and skills) needed to undergird effective practice. A fourth shortcoming can be added to this list of deficits: in the absence of a clear domain of human problems to be resolved by educational administrators, we do not as a field know what our purpose is.

The periodic gathering and systematic analysis of student outcome data in all schools and school systems would constitute major steps in the direction of surmounting these shortcomings. By "student outcome data" I am referring to assessments of pupils' attainments not only in the cognitive domain (i.e., the acquisition of knowledge in subject areas) but in the affective (attitudinal) and psychomotor (skill-related) domains as well. Although systematic testing of affective and motor attainments is rare, it is essential if the occupation of educational administration is to advance as a profession. The periodic testing of students' knowledge, feelings, and motor skills requires the improvement of our psychometric and other measurement techniques in education; but this improvement is well within reason if we direct our efforts toward developing such measures. The importance of obtaining such data is considered here in some detail with reference to the shortcomings in educational administration noted earlier.

1 The nature of an administrative problem. Practitioners within the field of educational administration have tended to regard as a "problem" any event or aspect of the job that makes them personally uncomfortable. Thus, "problems" might include discomfiting legislative mandates, parent complaints, teacher recalcitrance, student discipline, and an infinite variety of other factors. The analysis of student outcome data on a regular basis would serve to focus practitioners' attention on the sole problem domain that is endorsed by society at large, the cognitive, affective and psychomotor attainments of youngsters.

A focus on student learning outcomes on a schoolwide or districtwide basis would render the field of educational administration more nearly analogous to the fields of medicine, law, engineering, and architecture, to name but a few examples of esteemed professions. In each of those occupational areas the "problem domain" is external to the practitioners and unrelated to the personal difficulties one encounters in practice. Whereas doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, etc. confront personal problems associated with legislative constraints, complaints by the public, personnel management, client obstreperousness and other disruptions, these are not regarded as professional problem domains in those fields. Instead, the problem domain in each of those professions is defined in terms of a difficulty faced by human beings who are served by the profession.

In the case of educational administration, the human problem domain can be viewed as that associated with student learning in a larger-than-classroom (that is, department, school, district, or region) educational unit. An administrative problem, in other words, would be associated with inadequate student attainment on a grade-, department-, school-, district-, or region-wide basis.

2 Criteria for assessing administrative performance. In the absence of clear criteria for judging their quality of performance, educational administrators have resorted to a variety of informal standards that are sporadically and often inequitably

applied. Thus, administrators have been retained in position or promoted to higher ranks on such bases as sex, political accuity, personal contacts, and popularity without regard to the productivity of the units they supervised. The analysis of student outcome data on a regular basis would make possible the establishment of clear criteria for success and failure in administrative performance. Two such criteria can be identified here:

a Schoolwide student attainments in accordance with pre-established goals would be clear evidence of success on the part of the administrator; concurrently, each area in which schoolwide student outcomes fall short of predetermined goals represents a failure on the part of the administrator and a call for professional action by that administrator.

b Student outcomes that are equitable with regard to students' demographic characteristics constitute evidence of administrative success; correspondingly, any student outcomes that are inequitable with regard to students' sex, race, ethnic identity, social class origins or other personal characteristics are instances of administrative shortcomings and a call to action by the administrator.

The establishment of definite criteria for success or failure would move the field of educational administration into closer alignment with the prestigious professions mentioned earlier. In those fields such criteria of professional performance as patient cures (or deaths), cases won (or lost), machinery functioning (or breaking down), and building functioning (or inadequacy in terms of accoustics, ventilation, lighting, etc.) are rather clear and easily recognized. They make the professional's performance readily apparent to colleagues in the field and sometimes to the public as well.

Quantified objective criteria for professional performance in educational administration would similarly render administrators' performance visible to their peers and thus enable peer review such as exists to some degree in the highly esteemed professions.

3 Production and transmission of professional knowledge. Educational administrators typically learn their craft by trial and error, by observing others in similar or higher-level positions, by conferring with trusted and admired colleagues, and sometimes by searching the literature for promising techniques. Records are not kept of administrative actions or their effects. Consequently, each administrator's knowledge remains largely private and is not shared systematically with the field as a whole. The regular analysis of student outcome data, and the concomitant use of such data in identifying problems and specifying performance criteria, would facilitate the maintenance of records about each practitioner's efforts with respect to each type of problem and the effects of those efforts.

Record keeping in accordance with standardized occupation-wide formats is a normal part of practice in the applied professions mentioned earlier. Whether those records be in the form of case histories and treatment protocols, case briefs, job specifications and blueprints, or floorplans, they are maintained by the professional practitioners themselves in a form agreed upon by the entire field. These records make it possible not only for individuals to learn a great deal from their own past practices but for the field as a whole to learn as well, for it is primarily the research based on analysis of such records that has enabled those professions to generate tremendous bodies of technical knowledge about effective practice.

The periodic collection of student outcome data would foster the development of equivalent records of administrative practices and their effects. Analysis of such records would then yield answers to such questions as: For problems of schoolwide student underachievement in science, what administrative practices have provided successful solutions? For problems of unequal math attainments between females

and males, what administrative practices have apparently resulted in solutions? In brief, the maintenance of systematic records by administrators themselves in relation to problems in student outcomes would enable the development of technical knowledge that can be shared throughout the field and can be codified in terms of the types of student outcomes that are problematic. As in other professions, each practitioner would be contributing to the production and transmission of such knowledge.

4 The specification of purpose. Educational administrators are as varied as the public at large in their opinions about the functions of schools and the purposes of the administration thereof. Schools have been viewed as institutions for containing youngsters, socializing them to the dominant culture, teaching them a variety of subject contents, providing a labor force for industry, and other functions. Purposes of educational administration have been viewed as management of the people and things employed by schools, provision of a stable workplace for employees, instructional leadership, symbolic representation, co-ordination of activities, and other purposes. There is an immense variety of views, some overt and some never verbalized, about the purposes of schools and their administrators. The regular analysis of student outcome data would serve to force the issue of purpose to the surface and thus necessitate the specification of goals for each school. The purpose of educational administration, then, would be to organize the facilities, personnel, materials and supplies, atmosphere, supervision, professional development and all other aspects of the school in such a way that the goals are achieved.

In each of the other applied professions, such as those listed earlier, both the problem domain and the purposes of the field are stated rather clearly and endorsed by the field as a whole. The purpose of professional practice might be the reduction of malfunctions in individuals, the protection of society's or individuals' rights, the design and construction of machinery, or the building of esthetically pleasing and functional edifices. In short, the goals for each practitioner are set forth in more or less unambiguous terms and are agreed upon within the field. In addition, the clients of each field contribute to identifying those goals, and the goals themselves are changed from time to time.

The field of education is the locus of much controversy with reference to goals. A reasonable solution to the dilemma of controversy seems to be to face it squarely by having all segments of the school's community and the professional educators therein negotiate an agreement as to a set of goals for that school. Goals would, of course, be stated in terms of student attainments and would incorporate aims in the cognitive, affective and motor skill domains. The goals for a school in any community can be expected to change gradually both as community values change and as professionals become aware of what outcomes are feasible. But at any given point in time, all the existing goals would be the focus of student testing programs, the foundation for recognition of administrative problems, the bases for administrative performance assessment, and the categories for record keeping on the theme of administrative practices.

To summarize the essence of this section of the paper, student outcome data which are collected regularly and analyzed in terms of both unitwide results and comparisons between identifiable groups can serve as the ideal foundation upon which to build a more fully professional field of educational administration. Student outcome data are perfectly suited to this purpose because:

- they represent purposes of education as endorsed by society at large;
- they are quantitative, enabling the recognition of problems and the establishment of unambiguous performance criteria;

- they are classifiable or categorizable according to a variety of schemes, thereby enabling the development of a codified knowledge base related to administration;
- they necessitate the specification of goals as a guide to which outcomes to measure.

The use of student outcome data as the foundation for generating a *professional knowledge base* and a *professional service ideal* in educational administration suggests some far-reaching changes in this field, changes which some might regard as radical in relation to the occupation as it is currently viewed. It is toward these changes that we now direct attention.

Educational administration: A+ for professionalism

Several modifications in the field of educational administration were suggested in the preceding section. These can be reorganized and elaborated somewhat to underscore the fact that all aspects of the occupation — its cognitive, affective and psychomotor dimensions — would be affected. In outlining a redefinition of professionalism for this field, the letter A is used consistently to serve as a mnemonic device for readers and to satisfy the alliterative impulses of the author.

Affect — the affective dimension. Affect refers to all the interests, values, feelings, attitudes, and other emotive orientations of the practitioners. In this section we shall consider redefining three components of the professional administrator's affect: aspirations, attitudes and accountability.

Aspirations to improve the school's attainment of goals and to advance the goals themselves would be an important component of an administrator's orientations to the field. Rather than settling for student outcome goals that are easily achieved, the professional administrator would aspire toward goals that represent a challenge to the school and its professional staff.

Attitudes of optimism, respect for staff members as professionals, and open minded inquiry would also be important factors in the professional administrator's orientations. Administrators would need to view their own actions as experiments in the improvement of student outcomes and would have to abandon defensiveness and self-justification in favor of a spirit of objectivity. Similarly, preconceptions about differential abilities of groups of students would have to be rejected in the honest attempt to increase the equity of school effects.

Accountability or a sense of personal responsibility for the outcomes of the school would be a third important component of the professional administrator's perspective. Rather than blaming teachers, students' environments, financial and legal constraints or other factors for the observed deficiencies and inequities, professional administrators would regard as their personal responsibility the invention or adoption of techniques for overcoming such difficulties.

Action — the psychomotor domain. Action refers to all the overt actions and behavior predispositions of the practitioner. In this section we will consider five aspects of the professional administrator's behavior: autonomy, artistry, adaptation, assessment and accounting.

Autonomy refers to the independence of action and the discretion that is part of every administrator's position but not always recognized. Autonomy enables the professional administrator to make decisions (within some feasibility constraints) with-

out recourse to higher authorities or to traditional practices. This autonomy is essential for experimenting with techniques that may not have been tried before.

Artistry refers to the creativity and interpersonal skill a professional administrator would bring to bear upon solving problems in student outcomes. Ingenuity and inventiveness would often be needed both in perceiving school factors that contribute to the problem and in creating possible solutions that have not been attempted previously. Consummate skill and delicacy would often be required for the successful implementation of the needed changes.

Adaptation of the school and one's self to the existing goals would be a facet of the professional administrator's actions, for a problem in student outcomes can be seen as implying a cause within the school itself. In other words, a problem indicates that a change of some sort is needed, and making required changes would be a major element in administrative behavior.

Assessment of outcomes and the likely causes of problems would be another vital component of the professional administrator's actions. Professional judgment incorporates past experiences, extensive readings, and deep private reflection in the identification of problem causes and the selection of strategies for problem solutions. Such assessments would be made continuously in the course of professional practice.

Accounting for one's own actions in the form of a written record would be still another element in the professional administrator's action. Formats for accounting are likely to evolve over time. At a minimum, such records would include the "symptoms" of the problem (problematic student outcomes), possible school-based causes of the problem, an apparently reasonable solution (with a step-by-step plan of action), and student outcome data corresponding to the problem as found at the next testing cycle.

Access to knowledge — the cognitive domain. Access to knowledge refers to the availability and use of both theoretical and technical information that is applicable to the solution of problems. This information might be lodged among the practitioner's own cognitions or understandings as well as in the shared professional literature of the field. In this section we shall consider three aspects of the cognitive dimension of administration: attributions of causality, acquisition of understanding and the authority of expertise.

Attributions of cause are assumptions individuals make about the causes of or reasons for events that transpire. In the course of current practice it is common for administrators to attribute student failures or inequities to causes outside the school or to teacher incompetence and thus absolve themselves from responsibility. The development of a body of professional knowledge in educational administration, however, requires that practitioners attribute student outcomes to factors within the administrator's control. Such attributions would stimulate the search for school-based causal factors, experimentation with altering those factors, and thus an increase in knowledge about how to improve outcomes.

Acquisition of understanding refers to the continuous cognitive growth of professional administrators who maintain careful records of their problem-oriented activities, study those records periodically, and reflect upon their prior assumptions as well as upon the effects of their actions. The analysis by researchers of these written accounts would then enable the field to identify some apparently exemplary practices and their underlying rationales. And the sharing of this information throughout the field would further enhance the acquisition of understanding on the part of each individual practitioner.

Authority of expertise on the part of professional practitioners would be the long-range outcome of the reorientations proposed in this paper. With a focus on student outcomes, a spirit of experimental practice, the maintenance of thoughtful and systematic records of practice, and the analysis and sharing of those records fieldwide would come a codified body of knowledge about the school-based causes of learning problems and administrative techniques for solving those problems. Administrators would be able to act on the basis of this shared knowledge (as well as private knowledge) rather than relying on intuitions, and they would gain expertise in their field. Whereas the administrator's authority is currently based primarily upon bureaucratic rules and structures, it would eventually be based on expert knowledge about how to enhance and equalize student outcomes.

In sum, the further professionalization of educational administration entails a focus on student learning outcomes to foster consensus on the problem domain(s) of educational administration, to promote the establishment of explicit goals for educational units, to provide criteria for evaluating administrative performance, and to enable the systematic gathering and codification of knowledge pertinent to administrative practice. The changes that would be wrought by this focus on student learning outcomes would affect the field of educational administration in its entirety by embracing the affective and psychomotor as well as cognitive dimensions of the field. **Affective** changes would include higher aspirations for the attainments of one's educational unit, optimistic attitudes associated with a spirit of inquiry, and a sense of accountability for the results of one's efforts. **Action** changes would include the exercise of autonomy in the implementation of programs and procedures that appear to be reasonable solutions to problems, the development and practice of artistry in the invention and implementation of solutions to problems, the appropriate adaptations of the system to changes in goals, the assessment of the effects of such adaptations in terms of student outcomes, and the accounting procedures related to one's own actions. Cognitive changes associated with practitioners' **access to knowledge** would include attributions pertaining to the school (or other educational unit) as the major cause of students' attainments, the acquisition of understanding through research and reflection, and the increase of authority based upon expertise. Whether such changes can be launched by individual educational administrators independently is the question to which we now turn.

Professionalism and the individual practitioner

Readers will readily acknowledge that the *access*, *affect*, and *action* dimensions of professionalism delineated above do not characterize the field of educational administration as it exists today. Some aspects of professionalism as defined in this paper are not yet feasible, since there is not at present a codified body of knowledge, a standard form for accounting, or a set of norms fostering the exposure and intellectualization of practice. However, each individual administrator who views further professionalization of the field as a desirable development can initiate several of the features of professionalism specified here and thus enhance her or his mode of practice. As the number of such individuals grows, these people may well influence still others and eventually have great impact on the field as a whole. In this concluding section of the paper some concrete suggestions are offered for the venturesome and individualistic practitioner who seeks to advance professionalism in educational administration starting now. The suggestions enumerated in this section are directed toward any supervisor or administrator who has responsibility for an educational unit, be it a department, a grade, a school, a district, or a region.

First and foremost in the sequence is the establishment of a set of goals for student attainments in the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains. What knowledge should students have when they complete their education within your unit? What feelings should they have about themselves, other people, the subject matter, or their society? What motor skills should they have in terms of co-ordination, speed, and dexterity? A reasonable strategy for identifying such goals might be to convene meetings of all segments of the community served by the unit, all professionals associated with the unit, and students who are direct clients of the unit. Through open dialogue and consensus processes a delimited set of high-priority goals in all three domains can be identified.

Second in sequence but not in importance would be the design of a testing program to measure student attainments in relation to *all* the goals. Cognitive tests can readily be designed by persons familiar with measurement techniques. Attitudinal measures can also be developed by those familiar with psychometric techniques. Tests of motor skills can also be generated quite readily, though these might require performance observations, a set of criteria for assessment, and a panel of judges to provide ratings. While expert advice in developing tests could be sought, there is nothing so esoteric about the principles of measurement that they could not be mastered by any intelligent administrator.

The third step, assuming the design and implementation of a testing program, is the analysis of student outcome data, first to determine the extent to which each goal has been attained for the student population in general, then to determine whether there are disparities between identifiable groups in their attainments. Such analysis would be vastly facilitated by the use of computers, but it is not impossible without computers if several people are involved in the scoring and computations. To the extent that there are unachieved goals or inequitable outcomes, to that extent there is a need for professional administrative action.

It is here at the fourth step that the utmost professionalism comes into play, for this is the point at which original thinking, creativity, and the search for insights are demanded. Here, the professionally-oriented administrator would consider the question: What is happening within my unit that could be causing these shortcomings and disparities? A variety of factors must be considered. These might include student groupings, teachers' styles and levels of skill, the pattern of supervision that prevails, the climate or atmosphere of the unit, teachers' motivation and satisfaction, the instructional materials being used, parents' involvement in the unit, and professional development opportunities for staff members. The list of possibility relevant factors is as long as that imaginable by the most creative thinkers.

Having identified several school-based factors that seem to be contributing to the problems of unattained goals and/or inequitable outcomes, the administrator would then develop a plan for modifying those elements in the school (or other unit). Perhaps a more effective professional development program for teachers seems to be needed: this should be designed and implemented. Perhaps a more effective system of informal rewards and increased teacher motivation is needed; these too should be planned and implemented. For each factor that seems to be contributing to the problems, a plan of action is both feasible and inventive is needed.

Another suggestion for enhancing professionalism in practice starting now is to keep a written record of the student outcomes that are problematic, the thoughts about seemingly relevant school-based causal factors, and the solutions planned as well as a schedule of how the possible solutions are implemented. If there are snags in the implementation or changes in plans, these too should be noted. These records can become an immensely valuable resource later, when new problems arise or when

the same problems, unresolved, recur. Strategies that seemed as if they would be successful but were not must be abandoned and new strategies invented. Those plans that seem to have worked can be recalled and instituted anew. Thus, the administrator's own growth and development becomes a continuous process, with new insights always being added to the armamentarium of the practitioner.

The final suggestion for professionalizing one's own practice in the immediate future is to speak with friends who are colleagues about the idea of joining forces in this effort so that each can benefit from the knowledge of the others. Ideas about the causes of problems can be shared, and ideas about attractive plans of action can be garnered. Over time, the strategies that had apparent success (and failure) can be discussed openly within the small group so that each participant gains from the personal experiences of the others. The more intimate the group, the more likely it is that nuances in the implementation of changes will be explored so that the artistry of each participant can be enhanced.

The ideas proposed in this section pertain to individuals throughout the field who seek to advance their own professionalism. If taken to heart, these ideas are bound to have impact on the cognitive, affective and psychomotor dimensions of one's own practice. If, in addition, these ideas were broadly adopted and tied to a systematic research endeavour, the entire field of educational administration would take a giant step in the advancement of the affect, action and access to knowledge that are associated with true professionalism.

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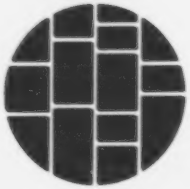

Erickson, D. A., 'Research on educational administration: the state of the art', *Educational Researcher*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1979, pp. 9–14.
After establishing that research in the amorphous field of educational administration is in disarray, the author urges a focus on the effects of schooling and cites two bodies of recent research that seem promising. One set of studies consists of examinations of the effects of classroom-level organisational patterns on various types of student learning outcomes. The other set of studies, treated much more briefly, is comprised of inquiries about school-level and district-level organisational factors as they affect student learning. Rather than looking so persistently to business and industry as sources of insight, Erickson contends, we should be recognising the field of education itself as rich in relevant conceptual foundations for research.

Etzioni, A. (ed.), *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization*, Free Press, New York, 1969.
Of the six essays in this volume, four pertain to the particular occupations of elementary-school teaching, nursing, or social work and two are general in orientation. The authors seek to describe the organisational structures and histories of these particular occupations and to analyse the constraints on fully professional autonomy for workers in those fields. Dan Lortie's essay on elementary-school teaching provides a description of the historical and organisational features of schools, and it notes (but does not pursue in depth) the absence of record keeping for purposes of generating shared professional knowledge. Of the two general essays, that by Simpson and Simpson examines the sex-role features of so many semi-professions, and that by Goode, cited extensively in the introduction to this monograph, examines the theoretical limits of professionalisation.

Larson, M. S., *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1977.
This highly sophisticated historical analysis of the emergence of professionalism and its evolution to contemporary forms in Britain and the United States is based on the Marxist theory of capitalism. The argument is complex and sometimes abstruse, but compelling in its thoroughness and scholarliness. In essence, the view is that in the transition of societies from pre-industrial to fully industrial forms the élite service occupations that formerly relied upon patronage had to compete for markets in the burgeoning urban capital economy. The intangible 'commodity' of professional service could best compete in the market by establishing a monopoly on a domain of knowledge and a position of prestige in the status structure of society. The two core traits of ideal-type professions — abstract, codified knowledge and a service ideal — are traced through two disparate ideological routes, one linked to the market economy and the other grounded in pre-industrial élitism. Education is seen as the primary means for merging both ideologies successfully in sustaining class inequalities.

Popkewitz, T. S., Whose heaven and whose hell? The professionalisation of educational change, Unpublished paper, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1979.
Using the analogy of religion, the author critically delineates the ideological base of professionalised change projects in education. Science is regarded as 'sacred knowledge', removed from political life, and scientific administration is seen as the 'path to salvation'. By this analogy, change agents are the 'new priests', and their use of systems jargon is the 'new liturgy', while curricula are 'tablets from the mountain'. Although the analogy is overdrawn, partly for purposes of humour, the point is well taken in this eight-part essay: planned educational change serves the interests of those already in power and succeeds in doing so by introducing the language and legitimacy of science into what would otherwise be heated political controversy.

Silver, P. F., *Educational Administration: Theoretical Perspectives on Practice and Research*, Harper and Row, New York, 1983.
While not explicitly addressed to the matter of professionalism, this book nevertheless represents the approach propounded in this monograph. Twelve theories drawn from social science disciplines are explicated in full as sets of logically interrelated propositions. Each of these theories is then linked directly to administrative practice in a section near the end of each chapter exploring the theory's implications for enhancing student outcomes. The volume is divided into eight sections, of which six represent broad topics which can be considered from the perspectives of two separate theories. The topics include: whole organisations; power within organisations; leadership; climate; individuals in organisations; and human motivation. In essence, the book promotes independent thinking on the part of administrators in relating theoretical abstractions to practical problems.

Spady, W. G., 'The concept and implications of competency-based education, *Educational Leadership*, vol. 36, no. 1, 1978, pp. 16–22.
This essay is a tight condensation of much previous work undertaken by the author and Douglas Mitchell on the social and structural forces affecting education systems. Based on his view of competency as capacity for success in 'life-roles', Spady urges a restructuring of schooling so as to incorporate: explicit competence goals; instruction oriented toward those goals; and criterion-referenced assessment of the degree to which goals are attained. The essay evades some crucial issues such as the social distribution of 'life-roles', the negotiation of educational goals, and inequity of goal attainment; but it does highlight many glaring shortcomings of education systems as they are currently constituted. A genuine shift to competency-based education (as opposed to a merely verbal or cosmetic change) would entail alterations in all dimensions of the education enterprise and could yield important knowledge about how to render schools more effective.

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